The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, MARCH 1, 1888.

The Week.

THE explosion of party wrath against the new Fisheries Treaty must be interpreted by what has gone before. It must be remembered that the Republicans in the Senate had voted nearly two years ago against any commission to negotiate a treaty—which was the same thing as voting against *any* treaty, even though it might result in giving us all that we claimed or asked. It will be called to mind that, after the late Commission had been appointed, Senator Frye of Maine, who is supposed to be most heavily charged with fishing interests, called in question the legality of the Commission altogether, and intimated that its work would be rejected on the ground of irregularity without regard to its merits. It must be borne in mind, also, that the opponents of any treaty have committed themselves to the policy of retaliation, and have adopted a method which reverses the national policy in that behalf, by putting upon the President the onus of retaliation instead of reserving it to Congress, where it properly belongs as an adjunct of the war-making power. In view of these facts, it is most natural that the treaty should be received with great wrath and dudgeon. As it has been proclaimed beforehand in many ways that no treaty would be satisfactory, we can hardly wonder that this one is not satisfactory. Opposition to it has been discounted in advance by all who desire to be delivered from this pest and menace. But these antecedent facts do not dispense the Republican Senators from the necessity of finding reasons for the rejection of the treaty, if they mean to reject it.

Mr. Trescott of Washington has perhaps made, in the columns of the *Herald*, the most formidable attack on the treaty which it has yet received. He says, "We paid the enormous amount of $10,000,000—$5,500,000 in cash, and the balance in twelve years' remitted duties" on Canadian fish—"for the privilege of catching $700,000 worth of fish." This means that the value to us of the fishing privileges for which we are contending, in Canadian waters, has been shown by twelve years of actual experiment to be a little over $58,000 a year. The duties we no longer remit. This appears to be, if we are to believe Mr. Trescott, and he is the most competent critic of the treaty that has yet appeared, the exact measure of our bone of contention with Canada. We want $58,000 worth of fish every year from Canadian waters. Now, the total number of persons employed in the fishing business in the New England States is about 30,000. Say that half of these want to fish in Canadian waters, and would bring home the $58,000 of fish. The share of each would be under four dollars a year. It is about this sum that the people of the United States are asked to-day to lash themselves into fury, and hurl defiance at a small neighboring people—Americans as well as ourselves, and mostly of our own faith and race. Of course it is annoying that we should have made a bad bargain under the Treaty of Washington, and paid a great deal of money for fish which we never caught, but it is childish to allow temper over that to hinder our settlement of the present dispute. Diplomatists, of all men, ought not to cry over spilled milk. The one duty of American statesmen to-day with regard to Canada is to prepare the way for her absorption into the Union with a contented mind and fraternal feeling. This is a consummation worth trying for, even if it cost us a dollar a head more for the Gloucester fishermen.

The action of the Democratic National Committee in calling the Convention to meet at St. Louis a fortnight before the Republicans meet at Chicago, shows the great advantage which the party reaps from having a leader possessed of convictions, whose record is a platform in itself. The reactionary and Bourbon elements which so long made Democratic success impossible, have been overcome by the logic of events, and Mr. Cleveland's Administration enables the party to open the canvass with confidence and courage. The selection of an early date for the Convention will strengthen the hands of the tariff reformers in Congress, and the renomination of Mr. Cleveland upon the platform laid down in his message is now seen to be assured. The Hill boom had but little vitality left before, and will not be heard of hereafter. The Brooklyn *Eagle*, which has always shown itself particularly well informed as to the Governor's course, says that Mr. Cleveland's name will be proposed to the Convention by Mr. Hill, and predicts that he will receive the vote of every delegate from every State and Territory on the first roll-call.

Mr. Blaine appears to have administered a rebuke to the "unspeakable donkeys" and "unmitigated" and "drivelling idiots" who, in the *Tribune* and elsewhere, have been insisting that his letter of withdrawal was not sincere, for in an interview with a correspondent of the *World*, cabled from Florence on Saturday, he is represented as replying with a "most emphatic negative" when he was asked if he would under any circumstances permit his name to be used again as a candidate. He then added:

"I do not wish to make any new affirmations upon the subject. I have said all that I wish to say upon this subject in that letter. That letter, as you must know, was not a haphazard, off-hand affair. It was the result of much deliberation and careful thought. I hold that I have no right to be a candidate again. A man who has once been the candidate of his party, and defeated, owes it to his party to withdraw, and not be a candidate a second time. More than this, there is another plain reason for my withdrawing. I could not go through the burden and fatigue of another Presidential canvass—such a one as the canvass of the last campaign. To accept a nomination, and to do less than before, would be impossible. It would look as if I had no faith myself in the success of the party."

That ought to be conclusive, but the *Tribune* still throws doubt upon it by repeating its old remark that the interview "withdraws his name from the consideration of Republicans for the nomination, so far as it is in his power to do so."

We presume there are by this time very few people in the community who do not know all that is worth knowing about the "Trusts," how they are formed, how they operate, and what their object is. The time for exposure and denunciation of them therefore seems to have gone by, and the time for proposing a remedy has arrived. There is a great deal of threatening on all sides, but nobody has as yet drafted the constitutional bill which is to extirpate the evil. We hope this most necessary work will be done before long. It seems to be forgotten that our present tariff has for its object the very thing which constitutes the guilt of the Trusts, namely, the raising of prices to the community at large by restricting competition in the market. What has produced Trusts is simply the fact that the law does not restrict competition sufficiently to enable manufacturers and dealers to make as much money as they would like. They are therefore trying to supplement the law by voluntary combination. Now, we do not like this; it is very prejudicial to the public interest. But where is the high-tariff man who has the brass to propose that it should be punished criminally? If there be such a person, let us see a draft of his bill, and let us hear his address to the jury in the prosecution. If the Trust men are charged with restricting competition, they will ask, What else is the tariff for? If they are charged with raising prices to the consumer, they will ask, What else does the tariff do? They will add that high prices are necessary to enable them to pay high wages to the American laborer—that if they did not combine, they would have to go out of business; and they will ask, What is the use of the tariff except to enable people to carry on trades in which there is no profit under a system of open competition? We advise anybody who is going to meet them in court to get something ready besides denunciation of monopoly.

The strike of the locomotive engineers on the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad, which began at four o'clock on Monday morning, is a model in its way. It has been undertaken after full discussion, and after the complete failure of the negotiations, and in the manner and spirit in which two reasonable business men separate on finding themselves unable to come to terms. There is, we are told, to be no interference with the company's business, and no attempt to prevent the employment of new men on the part of the strikers. If this programme

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be carried out, it will unquestionably win sympathy for the engineers among that great body of the public who know little or nothing of the merits of the quarrel. That is, people will be disposed to say that men as calm, and sober-minded, and self-respecting as these would hardly take a step so serious unless they had at least a good deal of right on their side.

We print to-day a communication of considerable interest about the attack which is being made on railroad property in Iowa. The assault is widely attributed to the instigation of friends or supporters, headed by Gov. Larrabee, of Senator Allison, who is now generally talked of as one of the possible candidates in case of Blaine's positive withdrawal next summer. If Mr. Allison's friends, however, think they are helping him by an onslaught on one of a great body of invested property, held largely in the Eastern States, they are making a prodigious mistake. No candidate who allows his name to be associated with legalized robbery of people who have saved money, and invested it in Iowa in reliance on the honesty and good sense of her Legislature and purity of her courts, need show his face in this part of the world in these times. If the Iowa politicians carry out their programme, they will put her in the category of repudiating States, in the eyes of the civilized world, just as effectually as if they refused to pay the interest on the State debt. People who have money to lend or invest will not make any distinction between cheating the State creditors and confiscating railroad property; and no convention which wants to win an election or get money for a campaign, will send a candidate into the field who has even the repute of having been mixed up in a transaction of either kind.

Among the articles in the tariff list which yield a considerable part of the hated surplus, and which most persons thought might with advantage be put on the free list, are fruit and nuts. Not so. A gathering of fruit-growers in southern California recently passed a series of resolutions against any reduction of the duties on oranges, nuts, prunes, plums, or raisins, or any other horticultural or agricultural products. It is argued by the California fruit-growers that duties on fruit create a home market for the manufacturer just as duties on manufactures create a home market for the farmer and fruit-grower. On the other hand, Mr. S. T. Coulter of Sonoma County, Cal., writing to the *Pacific Rural Press*, cries, For shame! and asks, "Why should we who boast of the wonderful productiveness of our orchards, and vineyards, and olive, and orange groves, and proclaim to the world that they yield us an annual clear profit of from *three to five hundred dollars per acre*, begrudge to the millions of hungry, starving poor who are famishing for our luscious fruits the mere pittance which the tariff adds to our enormous profit? . . . For very shame let us cease snivelling and whining for protection—let us cease to play the rôle of paupers, and proclaim our inability to support ourselves, and cease boasting of our phenomenal productions and enormous profits." The duty on plums and prunes is 1 cent per pound, on raisins 2 cents, on filberts, walnuts, and hazel nuts 3 cents, on almonds 5 cents, and on oranges 25 cents per box. Bananas are on the free list, but it is reported that a petition has been sent to Congress to impose a duty upon them, because, although they cannot be produced in this country, they take the place of a certain amount of native fruit. Poor old Uncle Sam is, indeed, having a miserable time with his surplus. Yet some of our ablest statesmen say that a surplus is an easier thing to deal with than a deficit.

The Indian Bureau appears to have made a serious blunder in its order of last year forbidding any use whatever of the Indian languages in instruction on the reservations, and to be committing a grave wrong in its refusal to rescind the order. Everybody concedes that the United States Government should employ every legitimate means to encourage the substitution of the English language for the native tongues, and a prohibition of the use of any language except English in the schools supported by the Government would be justifiable. But the Government has no moral right to go further than this, and to order peremptorily that missionary societies, which maintain schools in many places without assistance from the Federal Treasury, shall cease using the Indian languages. The trouble in the matter seems to be that the Indian Bureau attempted to bring about a desirable reform too hastily and too carelessly, and now allows a foolish pride of consistency to stand in the way of a frank confession of error. As we understand the case, the people most seriously affected fully sympathize with the purpose in view, of encouraging the substitution of English for the vernacular, and would have sustained any reasonable effort in that direction. But they feel that the Indian Office has acted hastily and treated them cavalierly, and they appeal for a reversal of its action with an argument which seems stronger than any of the attempted replies to it.

Some of the Republican organs are waving the bloody shirt over a favorable report from a committee presented in the House by a Democratic Representative from Georgia, on a bill to repeal that section of the Revised Statutes which prohibits ex-Confederates from holding commissions in the United States Army. They evidently forget that a similar bill was introduced in the last Congress by the Republican Senator from Virginia, and supported also by Republican Senators from Pennsylvania and Nevada. Consistency demands the passage of such a bill, which is only carrying out to its logical conclusion the reconstruction policy adopted by the Republican party. That policy provided that ex-Confederates might return to Congress to make laws, and might sit upon the Federal Bench to interpret laws. Of course they ought to be equally eligible to appointment in the army which may be called upon to enforce the laws. When Republican Presidents appointed "rebels" to the highest places in the civil service, they removed the last argument against their admission upon equal terms to the military service.

A Southern educator writes to us:

"Your editorial on 'Southern Homicide' was a good one, and I am heartily glad that you think that matters are mending in this respect. I have not noticed any improvement myself. I work against our Southern views as well as I can. I teach a Bible class of young men, and have given them my views of the matter very fully. One of the occasional attendants is a young fellow whose father, one of our best citizens, killed another prominent man a year ago last summer, and yesterday the wife of the slain man was there to hear my talk on Christian forgiveness. I could tell other things to show how that spirit is abroad—I mean the spirit of avenging one's own wrongs."

We fear this is hardly the most effective view to take of the matter. Preaching "Christian forgiveness" in reference to the homicidal tendency will, in the great majority of cases, confirm the notion, which is at the bottom of most Southern homicides, that wrongs calling for the infliction of death are, in a civilized community, private wrongs, the penalty for which the individual sufferer is at liberty to remit if he pleases. This, however, socially considered, is an anarchical doctrine. If a man has done something to me for which I think he ought to be slain or otherwise punished, I have no right to forgive him at all. The pardoning power does not rest with me. I have transferred it to the society in which I live. His offence is against it, and not against me only. I can neither try him, nor sentence him, nor let him off. I am bound to pursue him and see that he gets justice through due process of law, no matter how I may feel towards him as a Christian. I have no right to go after him with a knife or a pistol, except as the aid of the sheriff. Anybody who succeeds in getting these ideas implanted in the heads of Southern youth will find them more fruitful of peace and quiet, we cannot help thinking, than appeals to personal morality, because they do not permit the would-be murderer to negotiate with himself about the execution of his designs.

There was an interesting discussion in the Republican New York County Committee last week, the object of which, according to the *Tribune*, was to confine the organization to "straight Republicans only." This keynote appears to have been struck with much greater clearness by a member who declared that "there should be a straight Republican party if there was only one man in it." This sentiment evoked tremendous applause, and we are not surprised that it did. It puts into the terse language of formula the principle which has been animating the Republican party in this vicinity since the last national election. That election having shown that the party could not command votes enough

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to win at the polls, its leaders at once determined upon the somewhat unusual course of reducing its numbers. It immediately began to "purge" itself of all members suspected of being in any way tainted with independence. This succeeded so well that in the election of the following year the Democratic plurality in the State was increased from 1,047 to 11,134, and in the election of last November it appeared that the good work was still going on, for the Democratic plurality advanced then to over 17,000. The Republican vote in this city has dropped in the meantime from 90,000 to 58,000. The work of making it "straight if there is only one man in it" is still going on, and anybody who has been unable to find a rational explanation of the *Tribune's* course towards the approaching Presidential campaign will find it here. The party is not working for mere success at the polls, but to make itself "select."

The Indianapolis *Journal* publishes the following editorial paragraph: "In answer to repeated inquiries, the *Journal* replies that Gen. Harrison, while a member of the United States Senate, voted for the Chinese Restriction Bill as it now appears upon the statute-book." The *Journal* appears to have been made the victim of deception. If its editor will turn to his copy of 'McPherson's Handbook of Politics for 1882,' and consult the portion devoted to "The Chinese Question" (pp. 92-107), he will find the attitude of Gen. Harrison upon this question very differently stated. The first Chinese Bill passed by the Forty-seventh Congress went through the Senate March 9, 1882, Gen. Harrison's name not being recorded on the final vote, although the day before it is found among the yeas on two unsuccessful amendments intended to liberalize the measure. The bill was vetoed by President Arthur, and on April 5, 1882, the question was put, "Shall the bill pass, the objections of the President to the contrary notwithstanding?" And Gen. Harrison voted nay. A new bill, intended to meet the President's objections, came before the Senate April 25, 1882, and again April 28. Amendments were brought forward still further to liberalize the proposed policy, including one which aimed to strike out the section providing that no Chinaman should ever be admitted to citizenship, for all of which amendments Gen. Harrison voted. The bill was finally passed by a vote of 32 to 15, and among the nays is found the name of Gen. Harrison.

The *Journal's* paragraph is doubtless intended to meet the objection urged against Gen. Harrison's candidacy, that he has a bad "record" for the Pacific Coast on the Chinese question; but his record cannot be disposed of by denials of the truth. The fact is, that Gen. Harrison voted against the Chinese Restriction Bill as it now appears upon the statute-book, and it is a vote of which he may well be proud. It is an unfortunate circumstance that the supposed necessities of a Presidential candidate for Pacific Coast purposes render his champions eager to explain away and even to deny action so greatly to his credit. Moreover, Gen. Harrison is no worse off in this matter than other possible Republican candidates who were with him in the Senate. On the final vote against the present Chinese Exclusion Bill, Messrs. Allison, Hawley, and Sherman voted in the negative with Gen. Harrison. This vote may prove fatal to the chances of each for a Presidential nomination, but doubtless each would "rather be right than be President," and all four of them were right on this occasion.

The latest figures from Rhode Island on the working of the prohibitory law there are more startling than any which have gone before. It has been previously shown that there are more liquor saloons under prohibition than there were under license, and now it is shown that there has been a great increase in drunkenness and crime during the past year, as compared with the first year under prohibition. The official figures upon the latter points were presented to the Legislature last week. They show that during the last six months under license in 1885 the number of arrests was 3,398; during the last six months of 1886 the number was 2,262, but during the last six months of 1887 it reached nearly its former dimensions, being 3,090. During the last six months of 1885 there were 2,529 cases of drunkenness and revelling; during the same period for 1886 there were 1,475 cases, and during the same period for 1887 there were 2,180 cases. Upon cases of common drunkards, the showing is worst of all. There were during the last six months of 1885, 60 of these, during the same period in 1886, 23, and during the same period in 1887, 79.

It is evident from these figures that the State is suffering all the evils which flow from the unrestricted sale of liquor. No attempt is made longer to enforce the law. Liquor is sold more freely in the city of Providence than it was under license, the number of saloons to population being one for every 206 persons. The average under high license is about one to every 400. But this free sale is not all the harm that the law is responsible for. During the first year that the law was in existence there sprang up in all the cities of the State a host of so-called private "club-rooms" which were merely secret drinking-places. The inevitable effect of these was to make drunkards of men who would never have become so under other conditions. The figures now given show the results in the increase of common drunkards. We do not seek to underestimate in any way the evils of bars and saloons. We regard them as a curse everywhere, and would rejoice to see them all swept from existence; but, great as their evils are, those of secret drinking and of unrestricted drinking are greater. Prohibition is worse than a folly when it leads to results like these.

We are glad to be able to quote the New York *Times* in corroboration of our views concerning intercollegiate athletic contests. From an editorial article in its Sunday's issue, designed to show that our colleges are no longer purely educational institutions, we take the concluding paragraph, which we commend to heads of colleges and to parents generally. The italics are ours:

> "Here, we think, is the real justification for intercollegiate athletic contests. To defend them as really conducive to scholarship can hardly be done with a straight face. To endorse them as cultivating a manly spirit goes for something, but not very much. Conceived of as part of a strictly educational system, they are not even partially a good. In an ideal university, where men came only to study and fit themselves for the serious business of life, they would have no place. *But as one of the manifestations of increasing luxury now prevalent in society, and through society in the colleges, they will have to be borne with as best they can.* The colleges cannot abolish them without either repelling from themselves a part of their students, or allowing the latter to invent some still more objectionable substitute."

The fears of war in Europe as the spring approaches are growing. Russia is moving in the Bulgarian matter, though with but slender prospects of any success through negotiations. She wants Turkey to take the chestnut out of the fire by warning Prince Ferdinand that he is an intruder and must decamp; but Turkey shows no disposition to comply, knowing that if she attempted to interfere alone, Bulgaria would resist, and probably resist successfully, and that the attempt would probably end in the appearance of Austria on the scene, and a general mêlée, in which, no matter who won, the Turks would be sure to lose ground. As the Russian preparations continue, what good observers apprehend is that Russia may force the French, in spite of their peaceableness, to take the field on the now-or-never principle. Without Russia the French cannot fight, and if Russia says this is the last opportunity she will offer for an indefinite period, they may, however reluctantly, seize it.

The Russian "explanation" about Bulgaria really explains nothing. What it sets forth is in reality that Bulgaria owed her existence to Russian efforts and sacrifices, which is true, and that therefore Bulgaria is bound to choose a Prince and carry on her government under Russian advice and dictation, which the Bulgarians deny. The only objection to the two Princes who have occupied the throne is that they were not selected by Russia. No one pretends that they were not (as the Treaty of Berlin intended they should be) the free choice of the Bulgarian people. The treaty required that the Prince's election should secure the ratification of the Powers, and the only reason why it has not done so is Russia's refusal to concur. How the Czar's approval is ever to be secured for a choice which he has not been allowed to dictate, or how the Bulgarians are ever to be got to permit him to name a Prince for them, does not appear. The problem at present looks insoluble, but as long as nobody is allowed to meddle with them, the Bulgarians will hardly care whether it is ever solved or not.

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THE IOWA RAILROADS.

GOV. LARRABEE. of Iowa incorporated in his message to the Legislature the other day the most furious attack on the railroads made since the Granger excitement fifteen years ago. The debt, funded and unfunded, of the railroads within the State is $25,350,000. The net earnings give on this amount a return of a little over 6 per cent., leaving nothing for the holders of the stock as a whole. This does not seem a very prosperous state of things for investors, but it is, nevertheless, apparently, in the Governor's eyes, too prosperous by half. He recommends legislation fixing the maximum passenger fare at two cents per mile, which he says will not hurt the companies, as they will be compensated by increased travel, which may be true. What surprises us is that no railroad-reformer of the Governor's thorough type has suggested carrying passengers by weight. It would be hard to furnish any argument against it, except the trifling inconvenience of weighing passengers when taking their tickets, and the annoyance to heavy women of having their weight made known to the ticket agent. This could, however, readily be reduced to a minimum by a little privacy in the weighing process. All the conditions of railroad traffic, as set forth by experts, make the weight of passengers just as important as the weight of goods or cattle, which is always carefully ascertained and made the basis of charges. At present there is apparently a very unfair advantage enjoyed by stout persons of both sexes. In fact, it would be difficult to justify on paper the universal custom of making a one-hundred-pound woman pay exactly the same fare for the same distance as the two-hundred-pound man.

Gov. Larrabee further recommends "the passage of a law fixing reasonable maximum rates of freight in the principal commodities transported by rail, and authorizing and requiring the Railroad Commissioners to reduce said rates at any time when, in their judgment, they are too high." "If it should be held," he adds, "that the Legislature cannot delegate to the Commissioners the power to absolutely fix such rates, then they should be regarded as prima-facie reasonable rates." The proposal to fix rates on freight by an act of the Legislature is, we believe, something entirely new, going beyond anything hitherto proposed in any country in the matter of regulation of railroad property. The utmost that other civilized States have done is to create commissions or boards to consider, through actual judicial investigation, what "reasonable maximum rates" are. No Legislature has, we believe, thus far taken this task on itself. One inevitable result of such a policy as the Governor recommends would be the appearance of freight charges as an issue in every State canvass, and the candidate who was in favor of cutting them down to the lowest point would naturally have the strongest claim on the favor of the constituency, and the only recourse open to the corporations to save themselves from ruin would be a considerable extension of the much talked of "use of money at elections."

The general result of the Governor's recommendations has been that there are now before the Iowa Legislature seventy-five different bills introduced since January 10, each providing for some sort of regulation of railroads. One of them fixes the passenger fare at two cents per mile, but another provides for the creation of an *elective* commission of five persons charged with the duty of establishing freight tariffs, or, in other words, to all intents and purposes takes the management of the roads out of the hands of the owners, who unfortunately are mainly non-residents. If they were not, the fact that railroads, besides being public highways, are also private property, and have in Iowa, as in other States, been constructed in the main with the savings of individuals, would probably not be so readily forgotten as it is occasionally in some of the Western States. The Granger attack on the Iowa railroads in 1878 was brought to a summary close by the prompt refusal of the owners of capital either to invest or lend in the State. Under this cooling influence there was a rapid disappearance of the anti-railroad excitement.

The present one will probably die out under a similar influence, but we wonder whether the railroad managers ever seriously consider the extent to which they suggest or stimulate these assaults on their property by the "wars" over rates. One of these "wars" is now raging in the West, and it, like the others, has brought about reductions below what even Grangers think "a reasonable maximum," and, of course, inevitably suggests to the rustic moralists who live along the lines that if railroads can afford to carry goods at such low rates in order to damage rivals, they can carry them at the same rates to accommodate the public, if proper compulsion be applied. In fact, nothing does so much to debauch public opinion about railroad property as "wars." They seem to justify the charges of extortion made by the most rabid reformers, and exhibit the managers in a poor light as regards good sense and business prudence.

EXTRAORDINARY STORY ABOUT HOLLAND.

WE would warn Mr. Chauncey M. Depew and other Republican orators that, if the forthcoming Presidential canvass is to turn on the tariff, the discussion must be serious and careful, because people are not going this time to let random assertions about the effects of tariff legislation pass without examination. We are moved to make this observation by the following extraordinary passage in an interview with Mr. Depew at Chicago, which appeared in the New York *Tribune* on Sunday:

"Four years ago, when I was abroad, I went to Holland. When I went over there, I found that there was more content and happiness in Holland than in any country in Europe. There was absolutely no pauperism. When I was in Holland last summer, I found a great deal of complaint, stagnation in labor, Socialist riots, labor troubles—things which had never been known in the country before. I met one of the most eminent business men in Holland, and he said to me that the manufactures of Holland were stagnant, that business in Holland was no longer remunerative, and there was a great deal of poverty and distress among the mechanics and laboring classes. I said to him: 'How do you account for this change?' He said: 'Because Holland adopted a few years ago free trade, and the law has ruined us.'

"'Well,' I said, 'give me some instances.'

"'Well, for instance, we raise in Holland a very superior breed of cattle. England is free trade nominally, but when she found that our cattle coming from our farms were destroying her cattle industry, when she found that we could send better cattle at cheaper prices than she could raise them, she was free trade, and, of course, could not tax them, but her Board of Trade issued an ordinance that all Holland cattle had pleuro-pneumonia, and have not permitted a head of cattle to enter England for four years. That is the free-trade way England has of protecting her industries when they are pinched.'

"'Well,' I said, 'why, such being the case, does not Holland return to protection?' He said: 'Because our manufacturers and business men are not our Government. Our Government is a non-producing class, and they are all theorists, and they are carrying out their theories and ruining the agriculturists and manufacturers and general business and labor of the country.'"

Upon this the editor—not, we are sure, Col. Grosvenor, who is, though a farmer, too wary for that—made the following sapient remarks:

"Mr. Depew's statements about the effects of free trade in Holland, reported in an interview had with him in Chicago, are commended to all free-traders, and to those protectionists, if there are any such, who may be wavering in their faith. Under free trade, business in Holland has become unremunerative, and poverty, distress, labor troubles, etc., have followed. This ruinous policy, Mr. Depew was told last summer, is persisted in because the men at the head of the Government 'are all theorists.' Theories that do not stand the test of experience are worthless. Protection has stood that test and cannot be regarded as a theory."

It seems a pity that any one should visit a country so interesting as Holland with little or no knowledge of its social or economical history. The "eminent business man" whom Mr. Depew consulted performed on him the process which the boys call "stuffing." Holland has been a free-trade country for centuries, except under the French Empire and during the union with Belgium. Since the separation from Belgium, that is, for the last fifty-eight years, she has lived under a low tariff, which has been gradually getting lower. Revisions of the tariff in the direction of free trade took place in 1845, 1850, 1854, and 1881, the national prosperity increasing all the while, Holland being the only European country which passed unscathed through the financial crisis of 1866. Mr. Depew will probably be surprised to hear that the customs duties were only, in round numbers, one-eleventh of the revenue in 1850, one-thirteenth in 1862, one-sixteenth in 1873, and one-twenty-third in 1879. During almost the whole of this period Holland has been more of a free-trade country than any in the world. This diminishing proportion of the customs duties has been due simply to increase in the sum total of the revenue.

"The eminent business man" was humbugging Mr. Depew when he told him about the establishment of free trade "a few years ago," for the returns from customs duties have hardly varied in the least for nearly forty years. They were (in round numbers) 5,000,000 florins in 1850, 5,000,000 in 1862, 5,000,000 in 1873, and 5,000,000 in 1878 and 1879. The tariff was lowered slightly in 1881, but

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the duties may now be said to average 5 per cent. ad valorem on dutiable articles, which are but few in number. The only talk of change in the tariff since then has been a proposal laid before the States-General by the Government, not to lower the duties, but to increase them on sawed wood, petroleum, tea, various fruits, and articles containing sugar. Whether this has been carried into effect we do not know, but if it has, the conduct of the "eminent business man" was all the more culpable. Moreover, under this low and decreasing tariff, Dutch commerce with England has not declined relatively. The British exports to Holland were, during the five years ending in 1884, 6.2 per cent. of the total to all countries, or as much as they have been at any time since 1866, save in the exceptionally prosperous five years ending in 1875. The Dutch exports to England show similar results. They amounted in 1884 to 6.6 per cent. of the total to all countries, which was more than they had been in any previous year since 1866.

How to approach Mr. Depew's illustration of the working of free trade in Holland we hardly know. It appears from this that the prohibition of the importation of Dutch cattle into England by the British Government is an "instance" of the way in which a Dutch free-trade "law," adopted "a few years ago," has ruined the Dutch. The thread of the argument here entirely escapes us. We hope it is visible to Mr. Depew. It seems to us, as the human mind is at present constituted, an instance of the way *British* protection ruined the Dutch. But we will let him have it his own way, if he will only give attention to the following facts: that the trade of the Netherlands with Great Britain has been steadily increasing for a great number of years, the exports to that country having risen from (in round numbers) $75,000,000 in 1875 to $125,000,000 in 1885; that of this amount "live animals" formed only one-twenty-fifth of the total in the last-named year, and that the great bulk of the live animals exported to England are not "a superior breed of cattle," but sheep and lambs. He will perceive what a ridiculous story "the eminent business man" told him, when he learns that while Holland supplies 39.8 per cent. (in value) of all the butter Great Britain imports, and 17.9 of all the cheese, and 31.0 of all the refined sugar, and 9.9 of all the tobacco, and 17.9 per cent. of all the cocoa, and 27.3 of all the sheep and lambs, she supplies only 3.2 per cent. of the oxen, bulls, cows, and calves. As to the "pauperism" which Mr. Depew says did not exist in 1884, but which he found last year, there appears to be a little of the cock and the bull in this story too. The number of poor relieved in 1880 was 216,532, or 5 per cent. of the population; in 1881 216,643, in 1882 213,270, in 1883 214,516. We have no returns for 1884-5-6, but shall be glad to have Mr. Depew furnish them, together with a copy of that free-trade "law" which has ruined the Dutch.

There has been great commercial depression in Holland, undoubtedly, as in all other European countries since 1880, or four years before Mr. Depew was last there, but the tariff has had nothing to do with it, for the simple reason that Holland can hardly be said to have a tariff. The report of the Rotterdam Chamber of Commerce for 1886, which appeared in 1887, says, "The fall in prices since 1880 amounted on the 1st of January, 1887, to 12 per cent. for coffee, 43 per cent. for sugar, 25 per cent. for wheat, 26 per cent. for cotton, and 35 per cent. for indigo," as showing the cause of the trouble.

THE CIVIL SERVICE AS A PROFESSION.

MR. PUNCH'S advice concerning matrimony may be good, but we have never heard of any one who has followed counsel given with such oracular conciseness. Yet this, we believe, is uniformly the advice given by "such as ought to know" to those who ask them about the subject named above. Men at both ends of the official scale—Congressmen who have got places for hundreds of protégés, and poorly paid clerks who have grown gray in the service (in the rare cases when such are found)—agree in this, that the lowest round of the commercial or professional ladder is to be preferred by a young man to the most attractive clerical position in the Government service. And, in fact, the number striving for such places is much smaller, under the system of civil-service examinations, than any one familiar with the pressure under the spoils system would have deemed possible. The politicians ascribe this to what they are pleased to term the fact that the ones who would often, if not usually, make the best clerks are those whose "schooling" has been neglected. Another reason is the feeling, said to be especially common in the Southern States, that to submit to an examination is, for a person whose school-days are over, undignified, if not humiliating. But the chief reason is that the civil service, though not so bad as it is painted, is intuitively felt by the public to be a poor career for a youth of ability and energy, in a country where opportunities of getting a living are so numerous, and the prizes, in every direction, so great. It is perceived by none more clearly than by the clerks, that to adopt the service as a permament means of livelihood is to condemn one's self to hopeless mediocrity; and few, therefore, have so chosen it. Their mistake has been in supposing they could free themselves from its chains—in failing to discount its soporific influence. They have thought to use it as a life-preserver while learning to swim, and in a few years to graduate from it as physicians, lawyers, or expert accountants. But though the preliminary studies are often successfully made, few indeed have the courage to risk a bird in the hand for two in the bush. The apparent exceptions to this rule would generally be found to be those whose resignations (often through no fault of theirs) have been involuntary.

We should remember, however, that if not mostly fools, as Carlyle has it, the greater part of us, even if college graduates, are hardly destined to reach the top of any worldly tree, so that the fact that there is plenty of room there has no bearing on our individual fortunes. That it is better to have loved and lost than never to have loved at all, may be a good principle, subjectively considered, but it is not one that can be translated into practical terms. The vast majority of mankind must expect to be wage-earners, so that the question to be decided is whether, as a civil servant, one is not likely to get more comfort out of life than as a poor professional man, or schoolmaster, or journalist, or business clerk. In these callings you may, at fifty, have won your way to a few hundreds per year more, but at a how much greater sacrifice of convenience and leisure, and all that this implies! In business houses, except where the work is exceptionally light, and the pay correspondingly low, the clerk must be at work ten or twelve hours, often more; he breakfasts by himself, and dines after his children are asleep; or, if marriage has not early forced him to renounce expensive habits, he finds that the vain struggle to make both ends meet is bearing him onwards to the grave at an unexpectedly rapid rate. Now, the Government clerk has twice as long a vacation as most wage-earners receive; he has to work (with rare exceptions) but seven hours a day; his work is done in well-lighted, well-ventilated, and well-furnished rooms, and, if he lives in Washington, and has no social aspirations, he will find that two dollars will go as far as three in New York or Chicago.

Whoever thinks of entering the service had better not only leave behind all hope of distinction, but be prepared, even if the Civil-Service Act continues to be maintained, for disappointment and mortification. These may, indeed, begin before a man is born into the official world, and we should not advise any one to buy a ticket for Washington on the strength of getting 90 or even 99 per cent. in the examination. Under the old system, many tried and some succeeded in elbowing their way to the official table; under the new, many are called but few are chosen, and the few are sometimes known before the examination is held. Therefore, let the candidate observe carefully whether he has passed a "general" or a "special" examination, for if the latter, his chances of appointment are slight. In special examinations (as for examiners in the Pension Office) the entire eligible list is sent to the appointing officer, and the man at the foot of it is as likely to be appointed as the one at the head. If appointed, the clerk naturally supposes that capacity and attention to his duties will secure promotion, and so they may; but it would be well not to expect much. The influence of political patrons, from being general, has become concentrated; and the more their influence has been limited in scope, the more tenacious are they with respect to what is left. The effect of this is unpleasantly evident whenever a batch of promotions is announced, when the industrious and competent are often passed over in favor of the stupid, the careless, or the idle. This is especially annoying when a clerk finds himself promoted to work requiring greater knowledge or intelligence, while a mere copyist, without change of duties, receives the corresponding increase of pay. The proposed rules to enforce examinations for pro-

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motion *may* do something to lessen this evil, but we believe the clerks have no faith in them. The bearing of rules, as of remarks, lies in the application of them; and considering the large proportion of marks given to "efficiency," of which the "Chief of Division" is the sole judge, it will be seen that the result of an examination will be very much what the authorities wish to have it.

There remains to consider but one more phase of the question—what we may call the moral aspect. That civil servants in general are dishonest, or would be if they had the opportunity, we do not believe; but the recent experience of the horse-claims division of the Treasury, and that of the Chicago Post-office in connection with its newspaper mail, are illustrations on a large scale of what many clerks learn to be familiar with in less important instances. Familiar, we mean, in the sense that they know more or less about them, and yet hold their tongues, partly because of the inconvenience and possible danger to which the opposite course would expose them, and partly because of the generally accepted maxim that the informer is worse than the thief. Add to this that the civil servant is generally unthrifty, though the precariousness of his tenure of office, and the uselessness elsewhere of experience acquired in it, ought to have made him, of all men, the most careful to have something laid by for a rainy day. Whatever else may be said of it, it must, we think, be admitted that the atmosphere of the civil service, whether in Washington or elsewhere, is not stimulating to the moral faculties. As we have hinted, there are various reasons for this, but perhaps one stronger than any other is that instead of being, what it possibly some time will be, composed of those who have chosen it as a profession, a large proportion of the men employed in it are, in a sense, men who, though not necessarily by their own fault, have failed in life, and have to be taken care of.

THE BLENDING OF THE DENOMINATIONS.

THAT the edge has been worn off the distinctive tenets which gave birth to the great Protestant sects is generally admitted. It is of course implied in the modern movement for denominational union, and is a condition precedent of that movement. What is not so commonly seen and acknowledged is the process of interpenetration, as it may be called, which has long been going on among the several denominations. Not only have the old barriers been broken down and partially effaced, but, as was inevitable once the fences were down, the different flocks have become somewhat mixed. With the cessation of active hostilities between the sects has come no little interchange and assimilation of opinions. The peculiar property of one or two has become the possession of all. What all once fought, all now embrace. The old boundaries can still be traced by those of an antiquarian turn, but they now include many things that they were meant to shut out, and have allowed many things to escape that they were meant for ever to shut in.

Several suggestive bits of evidence going to prove the truth of this have lately fallen under our eyes. A recent number of the *Unitarian Review* contained an article on "Church Extension" which was wholly based on the idea that there was such a thing as the enlargement of a denomination without building a single new church or winning a solitary confessed convert. The writer of the article referred to maintained that there is a noticeable spread of opinions for which the Unitarians have always stood, among the other denominations. He adduced the much greater emphasis laid upon life than upon creed, and the fuller recognition of the duty of the Church towards society, as positions which could no longer be declared preëminently Unitarian. His conclusion was that Unitarianism is to expect an extension of its influence more in the way of a leaven affecting the life of other sects silently, and from within, than in visible and numerical growth. It is very easy to say that this is making a virtue of necessity. Perhaps it is, partly; yet the facts may be as alleged, nevertheless. It is certain that the most eminent of the surviving Unitarians of the Channing type has declared that the Unitarian schism would never have taken place if New England Congregationalism had been a hundred years ago what it is to-day. There is, in fact, no lack of evidence that the Unitarians who are now fighting Congregationalism are fighting what their fathers were, and that many Congregationalists are what their own fathers fought.

Passing over to the competitors of the Congregationalists on the other wing, we are given a hint of the general denominational flux by the recent meditations of the *Observer* upon the subject of the New Theology. That journal had interrogated five or six hundred Congregational ministers as to their attitude towards the new views, and had found that, apparently, not more than twenty-five out of them all would confess to leanings that way. Its first conclusion was that the whole thing was another case of Sydney Smith's solitary clergyman wandering into a room lined with mirrors, and imagining that he was in a large gathering of the clergy. But reflection appeared to convince the *Observer* that this was a fallacious inference, and that where there was so much cry there could not be so little wool. In a later article, accordingly, it dwelt upon the possibility of a secret and insidious spread of the New Theology in places where its presence was not confessed, or, perhaps, suspected. It feared that, if the truth were known, New Haven would prove to be as badly off as Andover. It also hinted at infection in "other seminaries." What it meant is, of course, known only to itself, but it certainly might have been squinting at some seminaries of its own denomination. A singular feature of a recent editorial in the *Andover Review* was an appeal to Congregationalists to be as fearless in Biblical criticism as a certain Presbyterian professor! And the *Observer* has had evidence of the way laxity may creep into even the straitest sect, especially, as it says, in the case of young men, in some late examinations before the Presbytery of New York. Such offences must needs come, and they probably will come in increasing numbers. There is no way of laying an embargo on thought. We have high Presbyterian authority for saying that no seminary can undo the work of a college in forming habits of inquiry and standards of belief, and the colleges of to-day are the worst enemies of the theology of to-day.

Perhaps the most striking instance of one denomination giving color to another is to be seen in the remarkable spread of the liturgical movement among those branches of the Church that had inherited all of Jenny Geddes's dislike of a prayer-book. The first inroads of this movement gave great alarm to those conservative leaders who withstood them in vain. They feared that the next step would be going over bodily to Episcopacy. Some among the Episcopalians, also, were sanguine enough to think that the drift towards a liturgy was a drift towards their denomination. But the clearer heads on either side saw that the fear and the expectation were alike unfounded, and that this approach in the use of forms was consistent with a real strengthening of sectarian prejudices. Indeed, a prominent Presbyterian has declared that he knew of nothing which could have prevented a serious defection from his denomination to the Episcopalian, except the great enrichment effected so generally in the forms of worship in use among Presbyterian churches. Much might be said for that view.

This last case is a good illustration of the small significance, as bearing on denominational union, of denominational convergence in some points of belief and practice. The denominational instinct—and denominational differences are now more a matter of instinct and inheritance than anything else—is yet too strong to make the discussions of plans of union seem aught but academic. There is no better proof that professors and editors are out of touch, very often, with the masses of their own sect, than the fact that they seem to have no idea of the mingled anger and contempt with which their proposals to abolish sectarian distinctions are looked upon by the great body of the members of the churches. The latter may be like the Scotch Covenanter in not knowing very much about their creed, but they are also like her in being ready to "mainteen" it against the world.

EVENTS IN IRELAND.

DUBLIN, February 15, 1888.

NOTHING could better illustrate the altered sentiments of the Irish masses towards England than the reception lately accorded to the Marquis of Ripon and Mr. Morley. The Dublin trades, in their thousands, turned out on a cold winter's night to welcome them with bands and banners; the largest hall was crammed with an enthusiastic pay audience to hear their speeches, while the freedom of the city was presented to them by the corporation, and at a reception they were offered addresses by some sixty of the Irish representative bodies. For the first time that I remember, union jacks floated beside green flags at popular gatherings. The warmth with which Mr. Morley and his speech were received was the

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event of the principal meeting. The attempt to raise the *odium theologicum* against him signally failed. The columns of the Unionist papers had for weeks displayed shocking extracts from his writings on Voltaire, Rousseau, and the Catholic Church, the same being posted in placards throughout the city. Yet he had a heartier reception even than Lord Ripon, a zealous convert and a munificent benefactor of the Church. This was due to appreciation of Mr. Morley's services in the cause of Ireland, and to a generous opposition to the attempt to prejudice him in the popular mind. What men desire nowadays is to live as quietly and comfortably as they can in *this* world; dogmatism regarding the next carries little weight when it interferes with their aims here. We could hardly have better instances of the decline of religious rancor than the British Government moving heaven and earth to induce the Pope to bring the naughty Irish to order, and the naughty Irish lavishing honors on a man of John Morley's opinions.

The Ripon-Morley reception was most important in the number and weight of the middle, commercial, and upper classes that it brought out in favor of a home-rule settlement, and in helping to render home rule respectable. At private receptions and dinners, at a conversazione attended by some 1,600 (paying) guests, amidst music and flowers and tasteful decorations, in crowds of well-dressed and well-mannered people, it was interesting to meet those who never before identified themselves with the cause, and would have nothing to do with it now if they believed it meant disorder and disunion. Two parties alone had any real cause for dissatisfaction—the ascendency class, who are so rapidly losing their predominance; and the extreme party, whom nothing would content but an ideal republic and a fair division all round. Thankful we are to perceive that under the influence of Mr. Parnell's and Mr. Gladstone's statesmanship the latter party is steadily diminishing—that, in Parnell's words, "For one that favored parliamentary agitation to nine or ten that looked to violence and revolution as the true means of saving Ireland twelve years ago, we now have the proportions reversed." When every other prognostication and unfavorable suggestion failed regarding the reception, the question of the "Queen's health" was resorted to, and we heard that "a banquet was abandoned and a conversazione arranged so that the Queen's health should be avoided." We were next told that we had refused the toast, and then when there was, in addition to the conversazione, a banquet with the Queen's health in due form, a greater outcry than ever declared that "It was not drunk—it was swallowed." "It was proposed inaudibly." "It was a piece of acting to delude the English people." This making such a point of the Irish at large drinking the Queen's health and playing "God Save the Queen," is most futile. Both observances have been made party shibboleths, and are connected with all that is hateful and humiliating to the masses of the Irish people. The Queen has never shown Ireland a gracious side. If Ireland form a real working union with England, it signifies little whether or not we play the English national anthem and toast the sovereign. At the Leinster Hall meeting I was much struck with the fact that an expression of feeling by a large assembly must be sincere. The faint response to Lord Ripon's denunciations of outrage contrasted with the enthusiastic applause greeting all references to union with the English people and a good understanding between Catholics and Protestants in Ireland. The former response was less a cheer than a sigh, the expression of the conviction that outrage has been inevitable, and that we cannot expect to be free from it until its causes are removed.

Attendant upon the present large reductions of rent by the Land Commissioners—in many cases from 25 to 30 and 35 per cent.—there has been an almost complete surrender to the plan of campaign by the great proprietors. Much has been said about Glenbeigh, Mitchelstown, and Bodyke. Cruel evictions have taken place, small armies have been kept on foot, peasants and leaders have been imprisoned in scores, police and emergency men have been injured, Irishmen shot down—the properties for a time remained a waste—and now the owners have given in, the tenants' terms are accepted, arrears are to be wiped out, law costs paid, the evicted are to be reinstated, the ruined homesteads rebuilt. If there be any sincerity in the Government plea that the plan of campaign is a criminal conspiracy, Lady Kingston, Lord de Freyne, Col. O'Callaghan, and a host of others in like position, are guilty of compounding a felony. The Luggacurran (Marquis of Lansdowne's) difficulty is, I believe, in a fair way of settlement. The Lord of Clanricarde alone holds out against reasonable compromise. Within the last few days he has offered terms which would doubtless two years ago have formed the basis of a settlement, but which are now impossible. The tenants will never agree to any arrangement that does not include the reinstatement of the evicted, whose sacrifices in every instance have been a necessary factor of the struggle. Round the Clanricarde contest much of the interest of the last few months has centred. Owing to it Mr. Blunt and other well-known men are in jail, for it most of County Galway is in confusion. There the Crimes Act is being administered with relentless and almost incredible severity. Men are being imprisoned with hard labor for "intimidating" others, even where the "intimidated" swear they have not been intimidated at all; and then when the prisoners leave jail, others are incarcerated for rejoicing at their release. One case was related to me on good authority in which the "intimidated," like his neighbors, illuminated his house on the expiration of his "intimidator's" sentence, and where the police entered and obliged him to extinguish the candles.

Fresh interest has been drawn to the Clanricarde contest by Mr. Shaw Lefevre's chivalrous espousal of the tenants' cause at considerable personal risk. In company with a number of other English members of Parliament and sympathizers, he held a mass meeting on the 10th to express feeling for the tenantry and adopt a petition to Parliament. The Government did not interfere, and perfect order and good humor prevailed. It was, indeed, an impressive scene, calculated to touch the deepest emotions, that English-crowded platform, the breathless multitude of eager, intelligent, determined peasantry, in a setting of green fields, glistening lake, dark Connaught hills. I have lived through more than my share of great events—the downfall of American slavery, the unification of Germany and of Italy, the elevation of the position of women educationally and otherwise—and that occasion at Loughrea more than ever encourages me to hope that I may yet see what perhaps comes closer to me, though not the weightiest reform, the reconciliation of England and Ireland. We must not be too sanguine as to the Clanricarde settlement, and there may yet be bad work. The people are now so exasperated that they do not incline to consider anything but what they deem most likely to stave off further eviction. The rental is of no real account to their landlord, as it has been in other cases where arrangements have recently been made. After permitting this meeting of Mr. Lefevre, the Government can hardly continue to incarcerate Mr. Blunt for attempting to hold one on similar lines.

Mr. T. M. Healy is perhaps the ablest and most versatile, as he is the most personally beloved by those who know him, of the Irish Nationalist members. The son of a country postmaster in the south of Ireland, an obscure lad employed on an English railway, he has, within ten years, won a foremost place in Parliament and a world-wide name. He has qualified himself for the bar, and probably has a great future before him. His real life is in his home and in literature. At times he is the despair of his friends, and perhaps of his better self, in his bitter and unguarded language. Single-handed he has just fought and won a remarkable contest with the Irish courts. John O'Sullivan was on the 17th of January sentenced at Killarney to one month's imprisonment with hard labor on a charge of having taken part in a "criminal conspiracy to compel John Hartigan not to work for Agnes Curtin." (The boycotting of the Curtins, to which I have before referred, a disgraceful business from beginning to end, has nothing to do with the merits of this case.) There was no evidence whatever of conspiracy on O'Sullivan's part. He refused to shoe Mrs. Curtin's horses weeks after Hartigan had refused to shoe them. Nevertheless, he was convicted. The magistrates declined stating a case for a higher tribunal, and as the sentence was for a month only, there was no appeal. Mr. Healy took up the matter, and on the 30th of January applied to the Queen's Bench for a *certiorari*. The Crown argued that the court had no jurisdiction. The judges at first scouted the idea; but afterwards "changed their minds" when they saw the nature of the case. Right or wrong, under the Coercion Act, the decision of the magistrates could not be reversed. Nothing daunted, Mr. Healy, against the advice of his legal friends and the reminder that, after all, O'Sullivan's term would be up in a few days, carried the case on to the Exchequer Division, over which presides the Lord Chief Baron, Palles, who, of all Irish judges, has connected with his name least suspicion of partiality towards the Government. Of him, an eminent English member, Mr. Ellis, uses these words: "I may say it is a good thing that in this grievous crisis of the history of Ireland there is a man who is absolutely fearless on the Irish bench, and whose mind is saturated with the traditions of law." Unlike their English brethren, the Irish judges adjourn their courts and attend levees. The other day in the very law courts they gave a lunch to the Chief Secretary, Mr. Balfour.

The Exchequer Division proved more independent than the Queen's Bench. The conditional order was issued, and the question argued out for two days. The Crown contended that under the act there was no power in any court to interfere with the magistrates' decision. Baron Dowse asked, "If a magistrate committed a man without any evidence at all, do you say there could be no *habeas corpus?*" To which the Crown counsel answered, "I do." Baron Dowse: "Is not the absence of evidence of an offence matter that concerns the jurisdiction?" Crown counsel: "No; the warrant of the magistrate is conclusive of every fact stated in it. . . . There was no power to interfere with it." A writ of *habeas corpus* was granted. O'Sullivan was brought up a few days after and discharged; the last piece of absurdity being that even with the order of the court he could not be released

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without a six-shilling stamp on the order, and, the stamp office being closed, the prisoner and his warder were relegated to a hotel for the night. Mr. Healy made touching use of his victory in a public appeal against the boycotting of the Curtin family. The decision has been a stunning blow to the Crimes Act. To-day there is a report that the prosecution of newspaper proprietors and venders is to be discontinued. The act is breaking down. It was to be carried out "thoroughly," but it was an anomaly essentially inconsistent, and foredoomed to the failure that overtook all previous attempts at coercion.

What was to have been a strictly non-Irish session of Parliament is opening with passionate discussion regarding Ireland. D. B.

A FRENCH VIEW OF BISMARCK'S SPEECH.

PARIS, February 8, 1888.

THE all-absorbing subject of interest at the present moment is the publication of the treaty made in 1879 between Prussia and Austria, and the speech pronounced a few days after this publication by Prince Bismarck before the Reichstag. The publication created some surprise, not on account of the treaty itself, for everybody knew that it existed; but people have naturally asked themselves why the publication took place. The speech of Prince Bismarck is, to a certain extent, an answer to this question. It is quite clear that the Prince did not think himself justified in asking new and enormous sacrifices from the German people without placing before them the real state of European affairs. He tore aside every veil; he showed, with the greatest frankness, the dangers to which the new German unity was exposed—dangers which are perhaps not immediate, but which are permanent; and his fairness was recompensed by the unanimity of the decision made by the Reichstag. There is a French proverb which says, "Un homme averti en vaut deux." The Germans have been warned, and whatever may be said of the high character, of the great sense of honor, of the Emperor of Russia—whatever may be said, also, of the pacific character of the new French President—Prince Bismarck does not conceal from his countrymen the fact that a coalition between France and Russia is among the possibilities of the future, and that Germany must stand prepared to send a million of men to the east and a million of men to the west.

He does not allude in his speech, and nobody expected that he would, to the recent *rapprochement* of Baron Mohrenheim, the Russian Ambassador in Paris, and M. Floquet, the President of the French Chamber of Deputies. At the time of the visit to Paris of the father of the present Emperor of Russia, when Alexander was descending the steps of the Palais de Justice, which he had visited, a young lawyer, who was not far from him, exclaimed, "Vive la Pologne, monsieur!" It was always said that this lawyer, who was then obscure, was M. Floquet; at any rate, M. Floquet did not think it necessary to deny it for many years, and the Russian Ambassador was forbidden to have any communication with him. But things have now been arranged; the friends of M. Floquet say that the insult to the Emperor was offered by another lawyer, the son of a Polish lady (to be sure, this other lawyer is now dead and cannot deny the statement); the cry "Vive la Pologne!" has become a sort of legend, and will soon be called a fable. M. Floquet, who was one of the candidates for the Presidency, is considered as the possible, even the probable, successor of the present Premier. He has, in fact, become one of the factors of the Republican policy, and his importance arises from the fact that he is supported by the Radicals, and has the sympathies of a certain faction of Opportunists at the same time.

It would have been somewhat improper to allude to these incidents in the German Reichstag; but they are as well known in Berlin as in Paris. There is no doubt that great efforts are made by a certain party in St. Petersburg, as well as in Paris, to bring about an understanding between Russia and France. But there's many a slip 'twixt cup and lip. Prince Bismarck can show to the world and to his own country treaties, written engagements; he has published his treaty with Austria; he may publish, if he likes, a treaty with Italy; he even, in his speech, spoke of "other Powers," without saying which those Powers were. France and Russia can show nothing of this sort. What are a few newspaper articles, and the utterances of irresponsible persons, compared with solid facts? There is an alliance between northern Germany and Austria, there is an alliance between the German Powers and Italy, there is no alliance between France and Russia. The utterances of the Russian press and of a part of the French press are of little importance in the eyes of Prince Bismarck. He speaks with contempt of the writers who seem bent on frightening the printer's ink; he has the greatest confidence in the character, in the honor, of the Emperor of Russia; he cannot complain of the public authorities, such as they exist in France.

It is certainly a curious fact that while, in the old Chambers of the Restoration and of the reign of Louis Philippe, there were always a few members, representatives of a warlike and revolutionary policy, who protested against the treaties of 1815, you would not find in the present Chambers a group, or even individual members, who have taken *revanche* as their platform. Of course, there is a deep, a general feeling of dissatisfaction in the French nation on the subject of the provisions of the Treaty of Frankfort, which deprived France of Alsace-Lorraine; but there is no war party in the Chamber. The Deroulèdes are not representatives of the nation. General Boulanger, who may be said to be the military representative of a war policy, entered the Cabinet for a time merely as a soldier, as seventeen other generals have been ministers of war since 1870; and as soon as he became too active and too imprudent, the Chamber took the first opportunity it found to get rid of him.

Is it not singular that, with our electoral system founded on universal suffrage, with a liberty of the press which has no bounds, the war partisans have not been able to carry a single college in the country? Does not such a fact indicate clearly the temper of the country? France has not forgotten Alsace-Lorraine, and how could she do so? But France received a severe lesson in 1870, and is not willing to incur without necessity the dangers of war. An unsuccessful war would leave France even more diminished, and it would perhaps deprive her of the remainder of Lorraine and some other provinces which were once under the sway of the Duke of Burgundy. It has sometimes pleased the German Chancellor to represent the Republicans of France as more pacific than the Royalists; but there are 180 Royalist Deputies in the Chamber. When can it be said that they have espoused a war policy, or showed themselves more anxious than the Republicans to resist the legitimate wishes of Germany? What may be said is, that under the present Constitution the President would find it very difficult, if not impossible, to make treaties of alliances. Article 30 of the Constitution of July 15, 1875, says, it is true, "The President of the Republic negotiates and ratifies treaties. He makes them known to the Chambers as soon as the interest and safety of the State permit." But Article 31 says, "The President of the Republic cannot declare war without the previous consent of the two Chambers." It is obvious that this last article will always cause great hesitation in a sovereign desirous to treat with our President. This sovereign would bind himself, and the President cannot be bound. If there is no positive treaty between Russia and France, is there at least what we call an *entente*, an understanding, a prevision of eventualities and of a common action? There is nothing of the kind; and no statesman would undertake to define the articles of this future action.

The point which is really interesting at the present moment is this: What is Russia going to do in Bulgaria, and what will Germany allow her to do? The declarations of Prince Bismarck on this point are not quite as clear as one would desire. After having said that he would no longer sue for love, in Russia or in France, he adds that he is ready to respect fully the rights conferred on them by treaty. He admits now, as he did at the time of the Treaty of Berlin, that a preponderating influence ought to devolve on Russia in Bulgaria. But how is this influence to be exercised? Russia has had fair play in Bulgaria. She had a Prince allied to her imperial family, she had the War Minister, she had a great proportion of the officers of the army. With all these advantages, she did not secure her interests, she turned out Prince Alexander, she alienated a part at least of the Bulgarians. Still, Russia is willing to help her in the vindication of the rights conferred on her by the Treaty of Berlin. "If Russia," said the Chancellor, "makes official application to us to support steps for the reëstablishment of the situation in Bulgaria as it was created by the Congress, by recommitting it to the Sultan as suzerain, I shall have no hesitation in advising his Majesty the Emperor to comply with the request." This would mean a Turkish occupation of Bulgaria, and nothing else; it does not mean a Russian occupation. What would Germany do if the Emperor of Russia, with the consent of the Sultan, should enter Bulgaria with his armies, either by sea, by way of Varna, or by land, through Rumania, who could not well refuse the passage? What would Germany advise Austria to do? Would she consider a war between Austria and Russia, if it did not take place in the Austrian provinces, as a *casus fœderis*? We are not allowed to answer clearly all these questions.

What unfortunately seems clear is, that Russia will do *something*. The Emperor of this great country will not quietly accept the situation which is made for him; he will not remain in Europe as the protégé of the German Emperor. He is all-powerful, he has a devoted people, he cannot always remain deaf to the incitements of the Panslavists. He may, without France, enter into a great contest with his powerful neighbors, in the hope that France will perforce be drawn into it.

On the whole, the pacific speech of Prince Bismarck is very disquieting.

BULGARIA.—I.

HEIDELBERG, February 9, 1888.

AT a moment when a European war, of which the Bulgarian situation is one of the principal causes, is threatening, it is worth while to look back to the stirring period when Bulgaria was ruled by the nephew of a Russian

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Emperor, and to see whether we are better able to-day to account for the astonishing behavior of Russia towards the hero of Slivnitza than we were on the 7th of September, 1886, when Prince Alexander bade farewell to his people.

The Rev. Adolf Koch's 'Fürst Alexander von Bulgarien' (Darmstadt, 1887) gave us a thoroughly honest and truthful account, in a terse and unpretending style, of all the events as they appeared to the Prince and his companions. We parted from that pleasant book with the feeling that the bomb which put an end to Alexander II.'s life did as much harm to Bulgaria as to Russia. We know that the Emperor was on the point of creating a deliberative assembly, to be elected by the Zemstvos or boards of local government, and we instinctively feel that this step would have conducted Russia on the road of reform instead of on the war-path. We know with equal certainty that he placed such implicit confidence in his nephew, Prince Alexander of Battenberg, and that he so sincerely desired the welfare of the Bulgarians, that he would never have allowed the series of shameful proceedings which terminated in the kidnapping of the Prince. It is hardly going too far, therefore, to say that if war breaks out now between the Powers of Europe, the Nihilists, who brought Alexander III. on the throne, are in truth responsible for it.

From Koch's book we could gather that the Prince attributed his failure to the evil machinations of the Russian officers and civilians in Bulgaria. Prince Dondukoff-Korsakoff is charged with having intentionally drawn up the constitution for the purpose of making it impossible for the German Prince to govern the country. Ultra-radicalism was promoted and encouraged by humble instruments of a despotic government, in order to prevent a constitutional system from striking root and giving Bulgaria an independent existence. The Russian Minister of War, Milyutin, is accused of having thwarted Alexander II.'s good intentions by instructing his subordinates to undermine the Prince's position. The Prince perceives (p. 71) at the bottom of all cabals of the opposition a set of Russian intriguers, who try to sow discord between him and Russia—to the detriment of their own country. Alexander III.'s favor was withdrawn from his cousin in consequence of Hitrovo, Soboleff, and Alexander Kaulbars misrepresenting the motives of Bulgaria's decision to construct the railway from Tzaribrod to Vakarel, connecting Turkey with Western Europe, instead of a line connecting the Danube with the Macedonian frontier. The Emperor was made to believe that Bulgaria was more anxious to build a strategic line for Austria than for Russia. The Prince recognized Gen. Obrutcheff—the head of the Russian General Staff—as a formidable opponent, and fancied having incurred his resentment by the sudden dismissal of the Russian officers of a cavalry regiment (p. 103). He was also sharp enough to perceive that the Russian Consul-General Kumany was not disinterested in claiming a railway concession for the Russian firm Polyakoff (p. 56). But it is the merit of a pamphlet which has lately appeared at Paris * to have given us a clue connecting all these incidents, and explaining to us how the Russians, and they alone, have destroyed what they still call their legitimate influence in Bulgaria.

Though the writer does not give his name, it will be apparent to all persons conversant with Bulgarian affairs that he has read very important documents, and knows how to appreciate the character of the Bulgarians and Russians who have been prominent in the affairs of the principality. We are all acquainted with the extent of jobbery in Russia. During the war of 1877, Europe was horrified by disclosures of the infamies perpetrated on the patient Russian soldier by contractors, who paid a grand-duke's debts, and then recouped themselves by supplying the army with shoddy boot-soles and with cartridges filled with bran instead of gunpowder. Some contractors were in fact tried after the war; what became of them we know not, but the general impression is, that they had to be dealt with gently, as they knew too many secrets. As soon as a Prince of Bulgaria was elected, some of these firms determined to obtain a footing in the new State, and no sooner did the Prince land at Varna than MM. Utin and Tcherny presented themselves before him as representatives of the banker Günzburg and the contractor Polyakoff. They were bearers of a number of letters of introduction from influential Russians, and a letter proceeding from the imperial *Chancellerie* warmly recommended both them and their proposals. Without examining their request any further, the Prince promised to lay the matter before his Ministers as soon as his Cabinet was formed, and to pay due attention to the weighty recommendations they had brought. He fulfilled this promise on July 21, 1879, but at once encountered a decided opposition from his Bulgarian Ministers. No wonder it was so, for the Russians wished to establish a national bank with the sole privilege of administering all public moneys, undertaking financial operations relating to commercial or industrial enterprises or mortgages, coining money, establishing savings banks, etc., emitting national loans for public works, railways, bridges, roads, mines, etc. And they claimed the exclusive right to make preparatory studies for a railway from Sofia to Rustchuk!

Little as the Bulgarian Ministers were prepared for office, they possessed the national quality of being very accurate in money matters, and utterly indisposed to allow other people to appropriate the wealth of the country. It was hard that they should have so soon to set themselves against the Power which had liberated them from the Turkish yoke, and that in their very first meeting they should have to refuse a proposal recommended to them by their new Prince; but all they could afford to agree to was to examine the proposal for creating a bank, and to lay before the Chamber the plan for a railway. Russian intriguers at once set to work among the Deputies, and when the Sobranye met, the Ministry was upset. A new Cabinet was formed, in which the two Ministers who had been audacious enough to oppose the Russian contractors were replaced by new men, one of them, Archbishop Klement, a man of proved venality. When the fall of the Ministry was announced to the Chamber, M. Utin's voice was distinctly heard to say from the stranger's gallery, "At last we shall have a ministry with which it will be possible to do business." The press having taken this up, M. Utin went to the Russian Consul-General and complained. But M. Davidoff happened to be an honest man and a gentleman, so he sent him away with the words, "If you don't like to have the papers write against you, don't meddle in Bulgarian politics." Soon after, this respectable functionary, who was well thought of at the Foreign Office, and especially esteemed by the Empress, was transferred to another post by the influence of the Ring.

Of this Ring the writer declares that its members are to be found in all grades of the Russian social hierarchy, among civil and military officials, in the Emperor's suite, and among subaltern functionaries. He shows us how, as a rule, they managed to fill all the important posts reserved to Russians, viz., the post of Consul-General at Sofia, of Minister of War, of Military Counsellor of the Prince, from their own set. If other men were appointed, the Ring either forced them to adopt its cause or successfully intrigued against them, till they were transferred to some other post. Even independently of the Ring, the position of a Russian diplomat in Bulgaria was a difficult and thorny one; for besides receiving orders from the Foreign Office at St. Petersburg, he had to take into account the special wishes of the Emperor, transmitted to him from the Court, and lastly he could not afford to neglect counsels proceeding from the Slavophil committees, at M. Katkoff's bidding.

The Ring succeeded in securing the services of the four next diplomatic agents of Russia, Kumany, Hitrovo, Yonin, and Koyander, and in this way it counterbalanced the check it received in the dismissal of Gen. Parentzoff and Col. Shepeleff, who had behaved shamelessly towards Bulgaria and its Prince, and had, as far as it was in their power to do so, abetted the contractors who wished to spoliate the country. A thoroughly honest man, Gen. Ernroth, a native of Finland, succeeded to the post of Minister of War April 14, 1880, but unfortunately he gave it up again on July 13, 1881, probably because he did not like having to be in constant antagonism to the official representatives of his country.

The events which led to Prince Alexander's demand of full powers for seven years (May 23, 1881), to the people's approval of this demand, to the temporary suspension of the Constitution (July 13, 1881), and finally to its re-establishment (September 19, 1883) are all connected with the intrigues of the Ring to obtain the concession either for a national bank or at least for the construction of railways. MM. Utin and Tcherny insisted upon receiving the concession for a bank from the Government, with the restriction, of course, that the contract should be ratified later on by the Assembly; and the Klement Ministry feeling that they could not go further than to submit the Russian proposals to the Chamber, which would be sure to reject them, M. Kumany withdrew his support from the Government, and allowed the Ring to come to terms with the Opposition under Zankoff and Karaveloff. The latter unprincipled statesman accepted 200,000 francs from the Ring for electioneering purposes, and, thanks to a clever application of these ill-gotten funds, the new elections placed the Conservatives in a minority, and brought Zankoff and Karaveloff into office (April 7, 1880). They at once sent M. Hogdé out of the country to prevent this able official, whom the French Government had expressly placed at the Prince's disposal, from giving an unfavorable opinion concerning the merits of the bank scheme. But all their intrigues failed to induce the Chamber to abandon the Bulgarian principle of strict economy, and to hand over the resources of the country to foreigners. The Assembly returned the proposals to the Government, to be reconsidered. Well aware that the scheme could not bear scrutiny, the Ring resigned itself to a temporary postponement, and considered whether the railway scheme was easier to push through. They brought all their influence to bear on the Prince, representing how Austria would soon insist upon Bulgaria's constructing the line from Vakarel to Tzaribrod, contemplated in the Berlin Treaty and destined to connect Turkey with Central Europe, and how it was of the utmost im-

* 'Les Causes occultes de la question bulgare.' Paul Ollendorff. 1887.

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portance for Russia to have a line connecting the Danube with Sofia, so that Russian troops might advance upon the capital as fast as an Austrian army. The Prince, who acknowledged the legitimacy of Russia's preëminence in Bulgaria, and knew perfectly well that he owed his crown to his uncle, gave in, and M. Zankoff was allowed to recommend the construction of railways to the Assembly (October 27, 1880). The deputies adopted a line from Sofia to Rustchuk in principle, but they were wise enough to request the Government to undertake the preparatory work itself and then to bring in a bill on the subject at the coming session.

THEODOR VON BUNSEN.

Correspondence.

RESTRICTIONS ON THE POWER OF DISMISSAL.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In your issue of February 9, referring to the President's refusal to endorse the proposed rule requiring heads of offices in the civil service to file a written statement of the cause in every case of dismissal of subordinates, you say:

"We are aware that not a few civil-service reformers have always favored a regulation of this sort, and there is something to be said in its favor, but the arguments on the other side appear to us much the stronger. It constantly happens in private business that an employer thinks it wise to discharge a man because he is not entirely satisfied with the manner in which he does his work, although it would often seem too harsh to charge the delinquent publicly with neglect of duty. The same thing is always liable to happen in a public office. The civil service cannot be conducted efficiently if there must be a public trial every time that the head of an office thinks it wise to dismiss a subordinate. The competitive system renders it impossible to smuggle a man into a vacancy, and thus removes the only really dangerous motive for making a vacancy. With admission to the service thus guarded, the length of retention may be left safely to the discretion of the appointing power."

Will you allow me to express a difference of opinion with you on this point? I ask the favor with some hesitation, because I recognize the *Nation* as an authority on civil-service reform, and three years ago I should have agreed with you entirely even in this particular. At that time the new law had produced markedly good results. Here in Philadelphia, for instance, the Post-office had been taken wholly out of "politics," and Independent or Democratic election circulars could go safely through the mails. It was generally believed that the reform would be not only permanent but progressive, but the strain of a change of party in the Administration had not come yet. That change came, and while, owing to the growing reform spirit and lessening partisanship of the people, the strain was not what it might have been, it was enough to develop many unsuspected weak spots in the new system, and to show that a civil service which has been notoriously and systematically partisan for over half a century needs more stringent rules than may be required in that ideal *national* civil service which we must still struggle and hope for.

With what you say of the inexpediency of a public trial I cordially agree, but a mere statement of reasons would not lead to a trial (except perhaps a "trial by newspaper," the edge of which would be dulled by the partisan motive) so long as the superior kept within the bounds prescribed by the law of libel. Even admitting, however, that there were cause for an argument *ab inconvenienti*, I would suggest that, in view of the present condition of our civil service, there is more need to prevent improper dismissals than to facilitate proper ones; that while great freedom of action could be left to heads of offices had they no partisan motives for making dismissals, this is not yet the case. You say, however, that the law has taken away such motives. Now, undoubtedly, if the examinations are fair, "the competitive system renders it impossible to smuggle a man into a vacancy," *i. e.*, no one particular man can be given a place irrespective of fitness, but each must take his chance with the other applicants; yet this does not in the least prevent a deliberate change of the *personnel* of an office, collectively, from the members of one party to those of another.

In a letter which you kindly printed in your issue of December 9, 1887, I stated how such partisan change could be, and apparently was, effected, and I shall take the liberty of restating it. A systematic dismissal of all the Republicans, for instance, in an office takes place, with the result that a great number of vacancies must be filled. Even if the "sweep" be not made so rapidly as to disorganize the working of the office (a result not wholly unknown), it is "clean" enough to show Republicans that they are not wanted, and are not likely to be retained, should the head of the office be compelled, under the rules, to appoint them. The result is that scarcely any Republicans will apply for an examination that does not promise them, if they pass it, a fair chance of permanent employment, and the appointing officer is left free to fill with those of his own party the places he has made for them.

If this be true (and the administration of the Philadelphia Post-office seems to prove it); if admission to the service is not so well guarded by the Civil-Service Law as was anticipated, more stringent rules appear necessary, and what better rule has been suggested than that proposed by the only members of the Commission that one can call reformers? When the change now taking place in public opinion, in regard to "politics" in the civil service, has gone so far that the head of an office would not dare to act in the manner described, the rule will no longer be necessary. The question is, is it not needed *now?*

The unrestricted power of dismissal has a further result. If the head of an office be known to be a partisan, his subordinates must necessarily become such also. They will not be even nominal Democrats or Republicans if independence be followed by dismissal; and whenever party interests are at stake, they will be as active with their "voluntary" contributions and political work as if the Civil-Service Law did not exist. I do not say that this is universally so, but that it is so to an alarming extent—that the carrier who brings my mail says frankly that he is employed *because* he is a Democrat, and that his predecessor was discharged *because* he was a Republican. This would look as if the only practical result of the Civil-Service Act had been to raise the personal standard for admission to the public service without affecting its partisan character.

C. C. B.

PHILADELPHIA, February 18, 1888.

IOWA RAILWAYS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The spirit of Grangerism which so seriously affected several of the States of the Northwest in 1873 and 1874, stamping its character upon their legislation, and giving a name to their railways by which they have ever since been known, after a sleep of a dozen years, has again made its appearance in the State of Iowa in a very virulent form, and threatens, for the time being, the destruction of all railroad property in the State.

At the election last fall both parties, forgetful of the comparatively sparse population and limited business of the State, adopted very radical platforms on the subject of regulating railroads, declaring, among other things, in favor of a two-cent passenger rate per mile in all cases, and the lowest rate on freight existing anywhere in the United States.

Gov. Larrabee, the special friend and representative in that State of the interests of Mr. Allison, who, it is believed, expects to succeed him, should he be elevated to the Presidency, and who had been elected two years before as a conservative politician, friendly to railroads, was renominated on this platform and made a vigorous canvass on this question, and in his message to the Legislature and inaugural address strongly advocated the adoption of a two-cent fare bill and great reductions in freight rates.

The Senators and Representatives appeared eager for the work, and a great number of bills have been introduced in both houses upon the subject, proposing legislation which, if adopted, enforced, and continued, will render many of the railroads of the State practically worthless, and very seriously impair the value of all the rest.

It is said that the Railroad Commission, one of the most practical and conservative, composed of one Democrat and two Republicans, do not approve of said party platforms or proposed legislative action, and in their report to the Governor opposed any reduction of freight or passenger tariffs by the Legislature, and recommended that no radical measures on the subject of railroads should be adopted. Although this report was made several weeks since, it has not been communicated by the Governor to the Senate or Assembly, and is apparently purposely suppressed while the Legislature is acting upon this subject.

The Governor has appeared personally as an advocate before the Senate Committee, vehemently urging the passage of the Two-Cent Passenger Bill and other similar legislation, and the present indications are that these radical measures will be adopted by the Legislature, and thereby the railroad property of the State, which has cost over $350,000,000, will be seriously injured, and much of it, for the time being at least, practically destroyed, so far as earning any compensation for its owners is concerned.

These proceedings are a forcible and instructive, though not pleasant, commentary on the workings of our republican institutions under the decisions of our highest court.

It is claimed that, according to the judgment of the Supreme Court of the United States in the Granger cases, the Legislatures of the several States have full and complete control of fixing the compensation of railways both for freight and passenger traffic, and there is no remedy for any injustice committed except by an appeal to the voters at the polls.

This doctrine is a complete abdication by the courts of all power to protect this species of property, and an unconditional surrender thereof to the tender mercies of politicians and adventurers who may desire to prey upon it.

The Constitution of the United States provides (section 1, article 14) that "No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty or property

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without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

No one pretends that the passage of an act by the Legislature depriving a person or corporation of its property is due process of law, but it is perfectly manifest to every one that the passage and enforcement of an act reducing the passenger and freight rates of all railroads in the State of Iowa one-third will, so long as it remains in force, reduce the value of all railroad property in the State, so far as its capacity to earn a revenue for its owners is concerned, at least one-half, as the expense of operation is not reduced, but the whole reduction is from the net.

In other words, if the proposed legislation is to take effect and remain the permanent policy of the State, the value of railroad property would be decreased thereby at least one-half, or $175,000,000. Therefore the enactment of that legislation and its continuance as the permanent policy of the State will deprive the owners of those roads of that amount of their property, and that without process of law. Yet the Supreme Court of the United States, by their judgment, declare that the passage and enforcement of such legislation is not a violation of this provision of the Constitution; that the taking of this amount of railway property from its owners, by the passage and enforcement of such a law, is not depriving them of their property, and that there is no protection for them under the Constitution, but their only remedy is at the polls.

It is difficult to understand the philosophy or reasoning of such a decision upon such premises. To illustrate: A railway company in Iowa owns a railroad upon which it is now charging three cents per mile passenger fare and the freight rates now in force, both of which are as low as the charges in any of the adjoining States, and are lawful and reasonable rates. At those rates the road pays 6 per cent. on $30,000 per mile, which is its fair and reasonable cost. It may therefore be said to be worth $30,000 per mile. If the rates are changed, as provided in the proposed legislation, by a reduction of one-third, the road will only pay 6 per cent. on $10,000 per mile, perhaps not that. Is it not evident, therefore, that the enactment and enforcement of the proposed law will deprive the owners of that property of real and substantial value to the extent of $20,000 per mile of said road? Is it true, then, as stated by the Supreme Court of the United States, practically, by their decision, that the passage and enforcement of such a law is not in violation of the Constitution of the United States? Will it not deprive the owners of the railroad of two-thirds of the actual value of their property?

There are in the United States about 135,000 miles of railroad, which have cost over $7,500,000,000, and the funded debt secured on said railroads amounts to nearly if not quite $4,000,000,000. Is it true that this vast interest is outside the pale of the Federal Constitution, and have its owners no protection against the folly, passion, and political platforms of the several States within which it is situated? The fact that the courts will prevent the forcible dispossession of the owners is of no consequence, if the Legislature can, by legislation fixing its compensation, render the property worthless.

It is respectfully submitted that such is not the correct interpretation of that instrument. In this country the legislative power is not omnipotent; it is controlled by the constitutions, both State and Federal, and its domain is confined to the proper field of legislation, and does not extend to the entering of decrees depriving persons of their property, either by wresting it from them bodily, or by rendering it worthless.

It is not denied that the Legislatures of the several States may regulate the railroads therein, and provide that they shall properly serve the public and charge only reasonable and just rates of compensation therefor, and may enact suitable legislation for that purpose; but the question of what is reasonable and proper service and a just compensation is a question to be determined, as other disputed questions of law and fact are determined, by the courts, and not by the arbitrary decree of a Legislature.

It is submitted that this subject has not received at the hands of the Supreme Court that careful, calm, and proper consideration which its importance demands. It was before the court in the famous Granger cases, was argued at length, and took much time of the court, but it was unwisely and erroneously claimed by the railroads in those cases that the Legislature had no power to interfere with or regulate the compensation of railroads, and almost the whole attention of the counsel and the court was directed to that point. In proof of this I quote the language of Mr. Justice Miller, in the case of Wabash, etc., against Illinois, 118, United States Reports, in which he in part reversed the judgment in the Granger cases. Referring to said causes more than ten years afterwards, he says:

"The main question in all the cases being the *right of the State to establish any limitation* upon the power of the railroad companies to fix the price at which they could carry passengers and freight, it was strenuously denied, and very confidently, by all the railroad companies, that any legislative body whatever had a right to limit the tolls and charges to be made by the carrying companies for transportation; *and the great question to be decided, and which was decided, and which was argued in all those cases, was the right of the State within which a railroad company did business, to regulate or limit the amount of any of these traffic charges. The importance of that question overshadowed all others.*"

It is manifest, therefore, that while the railroads in the Granger cases were claiming complete exemption from legislative control, and insisting upon that, the court in their decision went to the other extreme, and held that the Legislature had power to prescribe arbitrary rates by fixing a maximum tariff, which was the law then before them. This decision was by a divided court, Justices Field and Strong dissenting; their dissent not holding that the railroad companies were right in their contention of exemption from all legislative control, but that they might be regulated by proper rules and legislation upon that subject, but not by fixing a maximum rate. The true rule is that suggested by them, that the Legislature has power to regulate railroads and provide that they shall not charge more than a just and reasonable compensation, and that they may provide adequate and necessary means and facilities for ascertaining and determining that reasonable compensation. The determination and decision of what that reasonable and just compensation is, must be by the judgment of the courts after a hearing of the parties, as in all other contested matters. In this way alone can the rights of the people and of the railways be properly ascertained, fixed, and determined; and until the Supreme Court revises and reverses its decision in the granger cases in this particular, there will be no security or stability to railway property or the securities representing it.

To give every unfledged legislator the right to fix the compensation and prescribe the management and policy of the railroads of the country, is too grotesque an absurdity to be tolerated in any civilized community.

JOHN W. CARY.

MILWAUKEE, February 23, 1888.

EXTRADITION.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In the *Nation* of February 16 you remark that "in the meantime the rejection of the treaty permits the continuance of that great disgrace to the American name—the steady growth of the American colony of bank defaulters in Canada." Let me remind you that there is in the United States a Canadian colony of bank defaulters, embezzlers, and criminals of other classes, and that these scoundrels on both sides of the line are laughing in their sleeves at the folly of the two nations that play into their hands. Why should you persist in refusing to surrender our criminals for trial, and why should we persist in giving an asylum to yours? Why can each nation not surrender to the other such criminals as it may be thought worth while to ask for?

There's no need of a treaty to enable them to do this. The Legislature of Canada can empower the Government of Canada to surrender all criminals except those charged with political offences, and I presume that similar authorization can be given by legislature to executive with you. An extradition treaty, so far from being a benefit, is a hindrance, as it furnishes opportunities for raising technical points like that on which Eno escaped extradition. If one nation were to begin this practice of surrendering criminals, the other would certainly reciprocate; but what if it did not? Surely it would be good policy on our part to let you have all your own criminals, even if we get none of ours in return. What we want them for is to punish them, with a view to deterring others from crime, and though in many instances punishment undoubtedly has a good effect, exile certainly is quite as potent in others.

I do not urge the voluntary surrender of criminals merely on the ground of international comity, or on that of obligation imposed by a "natural law." Much of what is said in this connection is perilously near to jargon. I urge the expediency of the practice rather on the ground that it is good policy for each country to get rid of both its own and its neighbors' criminals if it can. The ordinary view, that we should not surrender your criminals unless you give up ours, is based on an utterly absurd and indefensible theory of "asylum."

WM. HOUSTON.

TORONTO, February 24, 1888.

PROTECTION AGAINST SMUGGLING.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In this morning's *Strassburger Post* is a communication, concerning smuggling on the French frontier, from which I translate the following interesting extracts:

"A few days ago the customs officials at Diedolshausen . . . captured 19 barrels of alcohol which were being smuggled from Fraize to Diedolshausen. . . . The alcohol was conveyed to the custom-house, where it awaits sale at auction. But upon the 15 barrels, the owners of which were not caught, the import duty of M. 1.80 per litre must first be paid. If, as is to be foreseen, the bids do not cover this amount, then, as was done in a similar case a short time ago, the heads of the barrels will be knocked in and the alcohol intrusted to the neighboring creek for further transportation. Otherwise the home manufacturers would be injured, and would have a right to enter complaint against the customs officials for selling alcohol cheaper than they. The 4 other barrels, upon which the owner was required to pay five

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times the import duty, will be sold for what they will bring."

So the alcohol upon which the smuggler paid the duty may be sold cheaper without injuring the home manufacturer! On this principle, why cannot the officials sell all 19 barrels cheaper, seeing the smuggler had to pay five-fold on 4 barrels, which would more than cover the duty on the 19 barrels?

And are we to suppose that in the next war with France Germany will destroy the cannon she captures, lest she injure the business of the Krupp manufactory? GEORGE HEMPL.

STRASSBURG, February 9, 1888.

PROTECTION, OR PLUTOCRACY?

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Much as I desire tariff reform, it does not seem to me that the "American colony in Europe" furnishes a case in point. Argument from those facts savors too much of the protectionist method of claiming all the prosperity of this generation for the one thing, duties on imports.

It has been my observation that one could live as cheaply in almost any American city as in the European, provided he would take the same position towards society at home that he does abroad. In Europe, where he is little acquainted, he can escape the necessity of a large establishment and the expensive pressure of social requirements. If he chooses to live in a *pension*, or keep one servant and invite sparingly, he can do so without incurring social obloquy. In the case of those who do make a "spread," the difference in prices simmers itself down principally to the matter of servants and wages.

After eliminating the other reasons for staying abroad, such as the advantages of art, music, or climate, it seemed to me that persons were living there more or less permanently because they could do so more quietly, and wished to escape that false social standard, too prevalent among us, which rates a man according to his expenses instead of his moral worth. Plutocracy, rather than protection, has driven them to foreign parts. J. M. V.

BALTIMORE, February 25, 1888.

COAL ON THE PACIFIC COAST.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The *Nation* of February 9 contains an article on the coal tariff which reaches the conclusion that "American coal producers would suffer nothing" by the removal of the duty. This statement is based on the assertions that "there is no foreign coal which could come into competition with American coal anyway," and that "very little coal would be imported if the duty were repealed." While these statements are doubtless true of the Atlantic seaboard, they are not substantiated by the condition of the coal traffic on the Pacific. The British Columbia coal is as superior to the American product as the Nova Scotia coal is inferior. Further, the mines of Washington Territory are not so cheaply worked, and are not so close to the sea, as the neighboring mines in British Columbia. The duty on coal is therefore essential to the prosperity of the coal interests of Washington Territory. These interests are not unworthy of attention. Their value, as estimated by the Legislative Committee on Mines, is upward of $13,000,000. The output of the nine leading mines for 1887 was 690,212 tons, and the total output for 1888 is estimated at nearly a million tons.

I do not mean to imply that the Washington Territory coal companies are entitled to protection at the expense of the rest of the country, but I do wish to suggest that the *Nation's* conclusion that "the duty on coal is maintained because it is of no use," is defective.

Respectfully, S. A. E.

SEATTLE, W. T., February 20, 1888.

[The "conclusion" that we drew was from "assertions" made by the agent of a railroad and mining company in opposition to repeal of the duty.—ED. NATION.]

MR. BLAINE ON AMERICAN "CHEAP LABOR."

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In looking through some of the consular reports issued by the Department of State, I found in No. 12, published in 1881, and relating to the "Cotton Goods Trade of the World," the following passage:

"From these returns [referring to certain English official reports] it is seen that every American spindle consumes sixty-six pounds of raw cotton, while each British spindle consumes only thirty-two pounds, or less than one-half the American consumption per spindle."

"It thus appears that each American operative works up as much raw material as two British operatives, turns out nearly $1.50 worth of manufactures to the British operative's $1.00 worth, and even in piece goods, where the superior quality and weight of the American goods are so marked, the American operative turned out 2.75 yards to 2.50 yards by the British operative."

This passage occurs in the introductory letter of transmission, and is signed "James G. Blaine." Since it is down in the same report that in America the wages paid in the cotton industries only slightly exceed those paid in England, is not this pretty good evidence from the pen of the protectionist leader that American labor is cheaper than English when measured by the unit of production?

W. S. A.

BOSTON, MASS., February 23, 1888.

A MALIGNED TERRITORY.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: So much has appeared in the newspapers of the country concerning the great storm of January last, which swept with such fury the whole Northwest, that the readers of the *Nation*, as well as every one else, are no doubt heartily tired of the subject. But in many, if not most, instances the truth has been so covered up with falsehood, exaggeration, and misrepresentation that it has entirely disappeared. The result has been to create a false impression in the minds of those unacquainted with this section, and especially is this true as to Dakota.

Because I believe the *Nation* is read by a greater number of reasoning persons than any other journal of its character, I shall be very thankful if you will give space in your valuable paper to a few words concerning this matter, which may tend to a better understanding of the facts.

The number of persons who perished has been by some placed at several hundred, while others have not stopped short of a thousand. No attempt has been made to conceal the facts, as has been charged in some quarters by persons whose interests are hostile to those of the residents of Dakota; on the contrary, every effort has been made by the press and by others to ascertain the name of every person who met his death in the "blizzard." The list is now complete, and shows the number to be one hundred and thirteen.

While the truth is appalling, yet when it is considered that the area covered by this report is 150,000 square miles, or equal to the combined area of all of New England, New York, and Pennsylvania; that practically the whole of this great country is without fences, and, as a rule, sparsely settled, the greatest wonder is that the mortality is so small.

Three things should be borne in mind: (1.) That the storm came at a time of day when many were absent from home, and the children were at school—without a moment's warning, out of a clear sky, on a thawing day; and in five minutes the mass of whirling snow was so dense as to blind the eyes to the nearest objects. (2.) That no such storm was ever before known in the Territory. (3.) That the total unfamiliarity of the inhabitants with the terrors of a "blizzard" was the immediate cause of death in almost every instance, for not to exceed one in a thousand had ever witnessed a storm of this character, and many ventured out and were lost who might have remained safe within doors.

These are the facts. If another storm of equal severity should rage to-morrow, I venture the opinion that not a human being would perish.—Thanking you, I remain truly yours,

EDWARD A. MORSE.

HURON, DAKOTA, February 20, 1888.

Notes.

THE eagerly expected new volume of poems by James Russell Lowell, 'Heart's-ease and Rue,' will be published early in March by Houghton, Mifflin & Co., who also announce a novel by Mrs. Margaret Deland, the poetess of 'The Old Garden'; 'Reincarnation,' by E. D. Walker; and 'Current Religious Perils,' being the eleventh volume of Joseph Cook's Monday lectures.

Cupples & Hurd, Boston, will publish directly two genealogical works, one being the sixth edition of Whitmore's 'Ancestral Tablets,' in an improved form, the other, 'How to Write the History of a Family,' by W. P. W. Phillimore, M.A.; also a work on mental healing, 'What shall make us Whole?' and 'Thomas Carlyle's Counsels to a Literary Aspirant and What Came of Them,' a letter of 1842.

'Historic Waterways,' six hundred miles of canoeing on Wisconsin rivers, by Reuben G. Thwaites, Secretary of the State Historical Society, is in the press of A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago.

On March 25 the New York Shakspere Society will issue the first volume of 'The Bankside Shakspere,' a separate reprint of each play, with the First Quarto text paralleled with the First Folio, and both texts numbered line by line. Five hundred copies only will be printed, and should be applied for (per series, not per volume) to Mr. L. L. Lawrence, Newtown, Queens Co., N. Y., or to Trübner & Co., London.

Thomas Whitaker will be the American publisher of a 'Dictionary of Anecdote, Incident, Illustrative Fact,' gathered from pulpit and platform, and copiously indexed.

A series of recollections, 'At Home and in War,' by Col. A. V. Verestchagin, who participated in the Turkish campaign of 1878 and in the Turkoman campaign, has been translated by Miss Isabel F. Hapgood, and will be published with portrait illustrations by T. Y. Crowell & Co.

Reference has been already made in our columns to the fact that the University of Leipsic has engaged to receive and to preserve, for purposes of scientific study and historical re-

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search, all books, pamphlets, or other publications relating to the development of religious ideas and institutions in the United States, under their various forms of manifestation in our religious denominations of every kind. We are now authorized to state that the Smithsonian Institution, through its system of international exchanges, will undertake the transmission of all works having this destination, if forwarded to Washington without charge to the Institution.

Some notable new foreign works are the 'Monuments of Greek and Roman Sculpture,' historically arranged under the direction of Heinrich Brunn, edited by Friedrich Bruckmann, illustrated by permanent phototypes from the originals, and to appear in eighty parts at one pound each (London: Asher & Co.); an 'Englisches Namen-Lexikon,' a pronouncing biographical dictionary (Berlin: Haude & Spener; New York: Westermann); and a popular reprint, by permission, of the royal edition of the St. Talice commentary on the 'Divine Comedy' issued in 1885, with the addition of a copperplate engraving of a hitherto unknown portrait of Dante, asserted to be the best (Milan: Ulrich Hoepli; New York: Westermann).

The 'Annual Index to Periodicals,' for the year 1887, which ranks fifth in the series of so-called "Cumulative Indexes," comes to us from the untiring compiler (Bangor, Me.: W. M. Griswold). It is now, by elimination, an almost purely American index, but still includes the *Revue Coloniale*, *Revue de Belgique*, and *Revue Historique*.

A very remarkable collection of marine views is brought together in the fifty heliotype plates of 'American and English Yachts' (Chas. Scribner's Sons). They were all taken from nature, by Mr. N. L. Stebbins, and fairly represent the progress of yacht-building in the Victorian era, at least from 1851 to the present time. One finds both the *Volunteer* and the latest edition of the *America*, and the most famous American and British-built craft, including among the latter several (like the *Irex*) never seen in our waters. Even catboats are admitted along with sloops and schooners, and at the end are placed our finest steam yachts, the *Alva*, the *Atalanta*, etc., and those wonderfully swift Herreshoff productions, the *Stiletto* and the *Now Then*. Particulars as to maker, owner, dimensions, and racing record are annexed to each plate. Mr. Edward Burgess furnishes a characteristically modest introductory sketch of the rise of yachting, and of the causes which have determined the development in building on both sides of the Atlantic. The handsome and solid oblong volume has a permanent value for study and reference.

Part III of the 'Anglo-Saxon Dictionary' published by the University of Oxford has appeared. This is the Bosworth or Bosworth-Toller dictionary, based on the manuscript collections of Dr. Bosworth, but edited and enlarged by Professor Toller. Dr. Bosworth was born in 1789, and he skirmished about in Hebrew, Arabic, Latin, Greek, and such things at first, so that he did not fairly settle down to Anglo-Saxon till his middle life. His dictionary was published first in 1838. He was many years making collections for this new edition, and had nearly completed the first part when he died, in 1876. He deserves much for the time and money which he devoted to Anglo-Saxon. He founded the chair of Anglo-Saxon at Cambridge. But his scholarship belongs to the period prior to scientific phonology, and his dictionary work seems deplorable to the new philologists. This part (Hwi-Sar) is the work of Professor Toller, and very good work it is. He has gleaned the latest vocabularies and critical studies, and brought together a rich collection of illustrative quotations from the whole field of printed Anglo-Saxon, with references not only precise, but duplicated very often for different editions of the original. It will be most welcome to all students of the grandmother tongue.

Mr. Morley's address before the Edinburgh Philosophical Institution, last November, upon 'Aphorisms' has been reprinted in a handy form (Macmillan & Co.). It is a subject which the author is especially fitted to treat, both by his natural taste and his familiarity with the French examples of this branch of literature, and he makes a very good review of the principal writers of pregnant sayings. He thinks that the best part of literature is that which sums up such wisdom about life, and certainly it is, so far as matter is concerned; but perhaps no form of literature so easily degenerates into mere point, or accustoms the mind to rest in half-truths, or imposes a sounding platitude so often in the place of real ideas. With such a guide as Mr. Morley to pick out the best and truest things, all goes very well; but literary aphorisms are not, like proverbs, stamped and current with the acceptance of all men, and the young reader may do better than get his philosophy of life from these "makers of thoughts," whose absence in our literature is often deplored more loudly than the occasion warrants.

'Ireland's Disease: Notes and Impressions,' by Philippe Daryl (Routledge & Sons), is a translation of letters written to *Le Temps* in the summers of 1886 and 1887—a mixture of wheat and chaff, amusing writing, careful and careless observation, reliable and unreliable information. The broader lines of the problem are correctly limned; and, barring particulars, a perusal of the work leaves upon the whole a tolerably correct impression on the mind of the distracted and bewildered condition of Ireland at the present moment.

In a little volume entitled 'The Geological Evidences of Evolution,' published by the author in Philadelphia, Prof. Angelo Heilprin has expanded a lecture delivered at the Academy of Natural Sciences in Philadelphia, and furnished it with clear and satisfactory illustrations. It contains little, if anything, which has not been for some time the common property of biologists, but has the merit of stating in a comprehensible way a few of the reasons why they have recognized in fossil animals of successive strata good evidence of evolutionary processes. The preacher or layman who desires to know something of the facts, and something of the kind of facts which recommend themselves to the naturalist in considering such questions, will do well to read this little book, of which the externals are attractive and the contents reliable and easily understood.

The 'Report on Indian Fibres and Fibrous Substances exhibited at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition, 1886,' issued by E. Spon, a modest volume of seventy pages, is the most important recent contribution to our knowledge of vegetable fibres. It contains in a compact, although not very convenient, form the results of fresh studies in the chemistry, microchemistry, and microscopy of the more useful and promising textile and paper fibres. Two of the authors, Messrs. Cross and Bevan, are well known from their success in the management of refractory fibres; and a colleague, Dr. George Watt, is even more widely known from his energy in collecting and his skill in displaying the vegetable products of India in the Exhibition of 1886.

The Indian Survey Department has just published a report of the travels of M—H, a "native explorer," in Nepaul and southern Tibet. He crossed the Himalayas by the Pangula Pass, which he estimated at over 20,000 feet in height. Along the path he noticed, what he did not see elsewhere, large masses of rock "poised like capitals on pillars of frozen snow, about thirty feet or forty feet in circumference, and twenty feet to thirty feet in height." Not being permitted to go to the north or east, he turned to the west, and made his way with much difficulty, the Tibetan officials interposing every possible obstacle to his advance, to Dingri. From this town, situated in a plain, well cultivated, though at a height of 13,860 feet, he went to Jonkhajong, a Tibetan fort, but could go no further, and accordingly returned to India. The chief interest of his journey, which equalled neither in extent nor in the importance of the geographical observations those of Nain Singh or the Pundit A—K, seems to be in the reports of the trade between Nepaul and Tibet and the condition of the country. From his story it would appear that the Tibetan frontier is still guarded with the greatest vigilance to prevent all save authorized visitation.

We are tempted to linger on some topics suggested by 'Canadian Leaves,' a series of papers read before the Canadian Club of this city, and published by Napoléon Thompson & Co. We can, however, do little more than recommend them to any one desirous of studying the condition of the Canadian mind both towards the mother country and towards the United States. The most elaborate paper is Mr. Goldwin Smith's on "The Schism in the Anglo-Saxon Race," a review of the causes and consequences of the American Revolution, with unavoidable reference to the Celtic race and the Home-Rule contest, but with an earnest desire for the mutual perfect understanding of the Union, the Dominion, and Great Britain. Mr. Edward Collins discusses the future of the Dominion, pronouncing in favor of independence, and Principal Grant takes much the same attitude in "Canada First." Congressman Butterworth's "Commercial Union between Canada and the United States," and Mr. Erastus Wiman's discourse to the same effect, are here printed in extenso. Other papers on old Acadian and Canadian history, on the literature of the Dominion, on its mineral resources, its great Northwest, its Pacific Railroad, etc., etc., fill out the handsome pamphlet volume. A portrait of each writer accompanies his paper.

We understand that Mr. T. B. Drew, librarian of the Pilgrim Society at Plymouth, Mass., has uncovered a very important lot of old newspapers, chiefly a collection made by Judge William Cushing of the United States Supreme Court. No fewer than 134 kinds and 5,192 numbers have been brought to light, and those of the *Columbian Centinel* alone make twenty volumes. The earliest papers bear date of 1728. Some account of these rarities may be expected in the *New England Historic-Genealogical Register*.

The volume of Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society just issued is of rather more than usual general interest. Among the noteworthy memoirs of deceased members is the appreciative sketch of Mr. C. C. Perkins by Dr. Samuel Eliot, in which Mr. Perkins's careful preparation for and single-hearted devotion to his lifework, the promotion of the study of art by means of literature, of galleries, and instruction in the public schools, is very clearly shown. While this is naturally chiefly dwelt upon, Mr. Perkins's eminent services in the cause of music are not overlooked. There are also printed several letters of Dr. Joseph Priestley, a selection from the Winslow Papers,

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chiefly relating to refugee loyalists, and the "Records of the Old Colony Club," a Plymouth social institution which existed between the years 1769 and 1773. Of greater interest are the Journals of Gen. Henry Dearborn, kept at various times during the Revolutionary war. They give plain and sometimes amusing accounts of camp life, as well as of events in the Burgoyne campaign and a description of the battle of Monmouth. It is rather surprising to find numerous entries of festivities, especially "Desent" dances and "Eligent" balls. Spelling was not the gallant soldier's forte, especially in French names, as witness "Marques Le fiete" and "Count De Asstange." The influence of these allies is shown in the orders which he received to march "back to Reading, toot sweet."

In the *New England Magazine* for February Dr. J. M. Drew presents some documents exculpatory of Ethan Allen and other Vermont Revolutionary leaders from the charge of disloyalty in their negotiations with General Haldimand. These are shown in the light of a ruse —"a necessary political manœuvre to save the frontiers" of the State.

From Moulton, Wenborne & Co., Buffalo, we receive the prospectus of the *Bibliographer and Reference List*, a monthly to be born in May, with the design "to furnish booksellers, public libraries, and individual bookbuyers with a handy help" in the selection of books. It remains to be seen how far it will supersede the bibliography of the *Publishers' Weekly*.

Among the newer magazines we remark *Technology*, a scientific quarterly issued, in good style and with readable contents, by the senior and junior students of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. The first number appeared in September, 1887.

Bookworm for February contains a first paper by William Blades on the origin of printing, to whose latest views respecting the controversy between Holland and Germany we referred specifically the other day.

"O famoso invento de Guttemberg" are the first words of the new *Mensageiro Litterario* published at Oporto by J. J. de Mesquita Pimentel. Apology is made for the defects of its bibliographical department, and we may well await further issues before describing its character.

We have received from Chas. Scribner's Sons the first two numbers of the year of *Art and Letters*, which is simply *Les Lettres et les Arts* in an English dress, retaining all the embellishments and general typographical luxuriousness of the French edition. We say "simply," but we are well aware how great an undertaking it is to maintain a second parallel issue, even if, as would appear inevitable, the poetry has to be left untranslated. No one who can read French would hesitate which to prefer, but we doubt not that the publishers rightly calculate on a sufficient support from solely English-reading lovers of costly illustrated works. Our own readers are well aware, from constant notices, what is the character of *Les Lettres et les Arts*—a periodical without a rival in kind or in degree; the highest result yet reached of a combination of literary and pictorial art.

There is little that calls for remark in *Le Livre* for February, whose solitary full-page adornment is a curious portrait of Théophile Gautier, etched from a photograph taken in 1856.

The *Revue des Deux Mondes* announces that it will publish during the present year the following novels: "La Vocation du Comte Ghislain," by Victor Cherbuliez, "Un Artiste," by Octave Feuillet, and "Blanches Couronnes," by Ludovic Halévy.

The *Illustrirte Zeitung* for February 11 has two striking maps, the one showing the manner in which the Russian forces are massed on the German and Austrian frontier, the other showing the disposition of the French Army on the German frontier.

Archiv für Soziale Gesetzgebung und Statistik is the title of a new quarterly magazine edited by Dr. Heinrich Braun (Leipsic: H. Laupp; New York: Christern). The first article on the list of those engaged is on the condition of the unemployed in the East End of London. Others relate to Austrian savings-bank legislation, workingmen's homes in Havre, Sunday rest in Germany, to Russian, Swiss, and Belgian topics.

The principal articles in the last number of the Journal of the Royal Statistical Society are the inaugural address of the President, the Hon. G. J. Goschen, on the "Increase of Moderate Incomes," and that of Mr. Robert Giffen before the British Association, "On the Recent Rate of Material Progress in England." Among the other papers is an amusing review of Mr. Mulhall's works by M. de Foville, entitled "The Abuse of Statistics." His conclusion, after an apparently careful examination of the figures relating to France in the 'Dictionary of Statistics,' is, that "errors absolutely swarm." This is translated from a French statistical journal, as is also M. François Bernard's paper "On the World's Wheat Production."

— The *Atlantic* for March opens with an admirable short story of but half-a-dozen pages by Sarah Orne Jewett. It is a character sketch of two women, one poor and one well-to-do, who watch the body of a third according to the old New England custom, and so fall into confidences and talk of the dead woman's charities, and of the different ways of people in giving. The scene, the dialogue, and the memory of the dead as a kind of felt presence about the night-watchers as they speak together, are blended naturally (and yet with real art) to make a perfect little study from New England life. The story is much beyond the ordinary line of what is thought good work, and is as excellent as the best Miss Jewett has done. There is much other fiction in the number, and in the first place ranks the beginning of Mr. Henry James's "Aspern Papers." Dr. Holmes, however, is the real new-comer of the month, with a new series of papers which he calls, with a faint reference to the celebrated Breakfast Table, "Over the Teacups." He does no more than display his design here, and tell a story of such coincidence as the Psychical Research Society is pleased to hear of, and he has a word to say of the Boston group of its investigators. It is intimated that other characters than the "Ego" will be introduced. Several weighty articles, which cannot be noticed at length, deserve mention. Mr. Cook's discussion of "The Marriage Law in the Colonies" is supplementary to his contribution last month, to which we called attention, and is equally wide in compass and historically interesting. Mr. Fiske's American paper is general in character, but as usual one reads it through; and Prof. Thayer's analysis of the Dawes bill, and the situation of the Indians under it, is a real help to the understanding of a complicated matter, in which many persons take a humane, and would be pleased to take an intelligent interest. The article points out what is left undone by the bill, and so stands as a summary of the present state of the Indian question.

—*Harper's* for March has many beautifully printed engravings which give it the look of a holiday number; and in the article upon modern Spanish pictures they are the principal means of informing us of the characteristics of the school. The text is mostly biographical—details of names, dates, education, and the leading triumphs of the artists make its substance, with a real sketch only of Fortuny, which gives us a close view of the man, his habits and character. The topic of travel is of most importance in the number. Mr. Warner's paper on the Northwest is especially admirable and instructive, because he does not merely record what he saw, but attempts very successfully to explain the greatness of the country that lies behind St. Paul and Minneapolis, give a full account of its railroad activities, of its spirit of advance, of the vast interests which are being created there, and generally to show that when the Westerner speaks of his country as being "big," he has much more in his mind than the extent of its acreage. It is altogether as good a paper as could be wished, to inform the Eastern mind of what the opening of the Northern wheat fields involved in the way of character as well as of material results. Mr. Howells's second Swiss paper is one of minor incidents and passing characterizations, after his usual style, and he has a quotable felicity of expression in his description of Geneva as "outwardly a small moralized Bostonian Paris." The region of the Saguenay is picturesquely treated, with as much attention to its poor, blueberry-picking, unkempt, and unhopeful people as to the beauties of its summer and winter scenery; and here, too, the illustrations are most excellent. An account of the Cherokee Nation, with some particular reference to the working of their land system, and one of the estate of the youngest son of Gen. Lee in Virginia, with some colonial reminiscences, take us to other parts of our country. Col. Higginson has a sketch of a provincial New England vagabond, and in near neighborhood to it is one of the Empress Eugénie, very well done; and there are several other articles, all interesting. The number altogether is one that ranks at an unusually high level of excellence.

—The leading article in *Scribner's* is a study of the campaign of Waterloo, by Mr. John C. Ropes. He remarks upon the confused and contradictory records of the battle to be found in different histories, and makes this the excuse for returning to the subject, which he tries to treat impartially, and he has given great attention to it. The paper, which is to be supplemented by a second, is confined to the battle of Ligny and the movements immediately preceding it. The narrative is remarkably clear, and the various lines of advance and action are treated in so orderly a way, and kept so distinct, that one has no difficulty in following them. The result is a curious illustration of Tolstoi's view that in war the things that are expected to happen never occur, and the issue depends on the bearing of many fortuitous influences. One could pick out half-a-dozen important instances of this in the two days' manœuvring which is here described, and, if Mr. Ropes's view is correct, these chances were what determined the campaign against Napoleon. He thinks Wellington was altogether in error at the outset, and "guessed wrong," as did also Napoleon. The occupation of Quatre-Bras by the English was an accident, and the wandering of Erlon's corps between Ney's and Napoleon's battlefields was the blindest kind of bad fortune, for if this body of troops had either supported Ney or enveloped Blücher's flank (and it just missed doing both), the advantage to the French might have been decisive.

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The confusion of actual warfare, even under great generals, the limits of prevision, and the accidents liable to occur in execution of a definitely formed and ordered plan, are most notably exemplified. Another interesting article is Mrs. James T. Fields's account of the books of Leigh Hunt, which came practically in an unbroken whole to Mr. Fields, who scattered a good many of them, but retained enough to make a real literary treasury. Many of them were annotated after Hunt's familiar fashion, and, of course, several have associations with other literary men. Shelley's 'Diogenes' is here, noted by him in Latin and Greek. It was a favorite volume, and we may be allowed to express the hope that these notes may be copied off before they have entirely faded out—a fate which Mrs. Fields says is rapidly overtaking them. The article is illustrated with many cuts and facsimiles, and among the rest Severn's drawing of Keats from memory.

—In the forty-second annual report of the Director of the Harvard College Observatory, Prof. Edward C. Pickering states that the work of that institution has been largely increased during the past year by means of three important accessions to its resources. The plans for the study of stellar spectra have been greatly enlarged by Mrs. Draper's continued liberality; the fund left by the late Uriah A. Boyden for the establishment of a mountain observatory has been transferred by its trustees to the President and Fellows of Harvard College, and the researches undertaken by its means are now directed at Cambridge; and finally the income of the large bequest of the late Robert Treat Paine has been available for the support of the work of the Observatory during the entire year. Each of the three sources of income above enumerated is greater than that often provided for the entire maintenance of an independent observatory; and in comparison with what is ordinarily attainable, the Observatory of Harvard College can no longer be regarded as inadequately endowed. Perhaps the most urgent need of the Observatory at present is a new building, or such modifications of the old one as will adapt it to the requirements of modern astronomy; and the erection of a new residence for the Director seems desirable.

—As at other observatories, the interference of the unusually unfavorable weather is remarked; no more than sixteen eclipses of Jupiter's satellites, for example, could be obtained by the new photometric method, whereas sixty-eight might have been observed had the weather permitted. The work undertaken with the meridian photometer in southern skies is about half completed. No work of greater moment is now in progress at the Observatory than the researches in stellar spectra provided for by Mrs. Draper, and known as the Henry Draper memorial. Of the varied investigations undertaken, the work of photographing the spectra of all the brighter stars north of the twenty-fifth parallel of south declination is now complete. By means of the unique apparatus of prisms, eleven inches square, and having refracting angles of 15° placed in front of the object-glass of the telescope, spectra of stars have been obtained which bear enlarging to a breadth of four inches and a length nearly three times as great, and in which hundreds of lines may be counted. Nearly 28,000 spectra have been photographed in this work, and good progress has been made in the direction necessary to make these researches available to the astronomer and physicist everywhere. As the effect of color in stars is eliminated in this spectrum work, the results are becoming useful in fixing the absolute magnitudes of the stars with a greater precision than is possible with either the eye or the photometer. In pursuance of the terms of the Boyden bequest, much progress has been made in the determination of the fitness of certain mountainous regions for the location of a permanent observatory, by means of apparatus, spectroscopic and other, by which the steadiness and transparency of the air are tested and recorded. All the meteorological conditions of the atmosphere are examined by means of self-recording instruments. During the summer of 1887 complete sets of all this apparatus were tried by Prof. Pickering and his assistants on Pike's Peak, at Seven Lakes, and at Colorado Springs, at altitudes of 14,000 feet, 11,000, and 6,000 respectively. Also, Mount Lincoln, 14,300 feet, and Mount Bross, 14,000 feet, as well as other places, were visited, to determine the availability of these points for the permanent station.

—'Montaigne, Moraliste et Pédagogue,' by Mme. Jules Favre (Paris: Fischbacher; Boston: Schoenhof), is a volume written by a thoughtful student of Montaigne, who has wished to study him *à fond*, and who desires to communicate, "to all souls who are endeavoring to perfect themselves," the moral strength and elevation she has found in this study. She has thought she could achieve this object by a collection of sentences, paragraphs, and pages—texts of greater or less length—arranged under subjects, with a running comment of her own. Unfortunately, texts from Montaigne, like Bible texts, may be made to assume, when presented disconnectedly, a very different significance from that which naturally belongs to them. Unfortunately, too, Mme. Favre does not tell her readers from what edition of Montaigne she quotes, which renders it difficult to follow up her references. And again, unfortunately, a considerable number of her extracts are from the 'Natural Theology' of "Raymond Sebon" [*sic*], and she accepts the thoughts of the Spanish author as those of him whom she calls "son prétendu traducteur." The author, who is the widow of Jules Favre, the famous Republican leader of the later years of the Empire and the earlier ones of the Republic, is now the *directrice* of a school for girls at Sèvres, and the present work is the result of her reading of Montaigne with her classes there. This explains the general direction that she has had in view throughout, as well as the arrangement and choice of the extracts which she has given.

—All who are interested in the development of German historiography in the nineteenth century will welcome a recent monograph containing a short acount of the life and works of Germany's great master of constitutional history. It bears the title 'Zur Erinnerung an Georg Waitz, von August Kluckhohn' ("Sammlung gemeinverständlicher wissenschaftlicher Vorträge. Neue Folge. Zweite Serie, Heft 9." Hamburg: J. F. Richter. Pp. 36). Professor Kluckhohn was one of Waitz's numerous pupils, and occupies the same chair of history at Göttingen that Waitz once held. In speaking of the latter's influence, the writer says: "It is a fact that in France, Germany, and England, during the past twenty or thirty years, there has been no noteworthy investigator of the constitutional history of the early Middle Ages who has not in his researches leaned upon Waitz, deriving the greatest aid from his admirable literary knowledge and his exact investigations of innumerable questions of detail" (p. 11). "The figure of the fane of science and the priests in the service of the same has often been abused; but George Waitz was a real priest in the temple of science. He regarded the latter as something divine, and its service as a holy one. On that very account he was called to initiate others into it" (p. 17). Professor Kluckhohn's paper deepens one's impression that Waitz exerted a very widespread influence, and that he was a man of great versatility, though commonly regarded as one of the most conspicuous prototypes of minute historical investigators.

—Besides the various publications of M. Pierre de Nolhac, chronicling his successive discoveries of Petrarch autographs, the last few months have otherwise notably increased that abundant literature which clusters around the name of the leading personage in the interesting drama of the Renaissance. Two productions, in a certain way complementary to those of M. de Nolhac, are 'Un Decennio della Vita di M. Pietro Bembo,' by Vittorio Cian, in which three chapters are devoted, in great part, to the Cardinal's library, and to the autographic Petrarch codices once belonging to it; and an essay of much value by Dr. A. Pakscher, "Aus einem Katalog des Fulvius Ursinus," published in the *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* (vol. x., pp. 205–245), stating the results of a critical examination of the same codices, which passed from the library of Bembo into that of Fulvio Orsini, and thence into the Vatican. The outcome of Dr. Pakscher's investigations is to confirm — if confirmation were needed—the genuineness of the four Vatican codices. His article comes in good time as a response to the assault on the authenticity of the loose folios of "rough drafts" (Vat. 3196), made by Carl Appel (pp. 30–54 especially) in his very elaborate description of 'Die Berliner Handschriften der Rime Petrarca's.' This work is a memoir on the seven codices, containing the lyrics of Petrarch, which were acquired by the Prussian Government through its purchase of the Hamilton manuscripts. All but one of the seven are on vellum, but the oldest can hardly go back further than the first quarter of the fifteenth century. Dr. Appel gives them, however, an importance perhaps not quite deserved, by using them as the basis of some interesting discussions concerning the dates, form, and order of the sonnets, the text and arrangement of the Trionfi and other kindred topics. As to the variants of the Canzoniere which he cites, they are, of course, now rendered almost undebatable by the rediscovery of Petrarch's own final copy of his lyrical productions.

—'The Peasant Songs of the Ufimsk Government, District of Menzelinsk,' noted down by M. Paltchikoff, is an extremely interesting collection of Folk Songs which has just been published in Russia. This collection differs from that of the ordinary type, *i. e.*, from the collection of a few songs with pianoforte accompaniment, arranged according to the taste of some musician. And in the second place, it is restricted, not to a single government, nor to a single district, but to even less—to one locality. In the ordinary collection, the changes effected in order to render the songs presentable in cultivated form sometimes extend as far as a rewriting of the air, a change of time, and so on. The result is almost invariably the same: a peasant singer is unable to recognize an air with which he is familiar. The difficulty lies in the fact that hitherto all collectors (with the exception of Melgupoff) have failed to observe that no one singer executes the whole air when singing with a chorus. There are, practically, as many parts as there are voices, and rarely less than four; hence, attempts to represent a chorus by a song for one voice have never succeeded. M. Paltchikoff began his

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labors like his predecessors, but, finding the single-voice system utterly inadequate, he listened more attentively, and this volume represents the result of his observations. Unfortunately for many persons whose skill in music is not great, the author has not furnished a single instance of combined harmonies, contenting himself by giving a number of them separately in exact illustration of the peasants' mode of procedure. Out of the 125 songs contained in the volume, 80 have never appeared in print. The text of the book presents more than 30 ballads which are not to be found elsewhere. The collection presents a very valuable mass of raw material, and is accompanied by a careful musical and literary index of the songs and collections used by the author for verifying his work, which will facilitate comparisons with material already published.

HISTORIES OF THE COLORED TROOPS.

A History of the Negro Troops in the War of the Rebellion, 1861–5, preceded by a review of the military services of Negroes in ancient and modern times. By George W. Williams, LL.D., Colonel and late Judge-Advocate in the Grand Army of the Republic. Harper & Bros.

The Black Phalanx; A History of the Negro Soldiers of the United States in the Wars of 1775–1812, 1861–5. By Joseph T. Wilson, late of the 2d Regt. La. Native Guard Vols., 54th Mass. Vols., Aide-de-Camp to the Commander-in-Chief G. A. R. Hartford, Conn.: American Publishing Co.

THE history of the American colored regiments is yet to be written. That remarkable achievement, the creation of a serviceable force of nearly 200,000 soldiers out of a race of helots, was not merely one of the most picturesque, but one of the most essentially interesting features of the great Civil War; and yet it has hitherto only found fragmentary chronicle in a few regimental biographies. The delay is easily explained. Unlike the white volunteer regiments, which usually came from a certain well-defined locality and went back to it again—their remnants kept together, their record safely cherished by local pride—the colored troops were either utterly scattered when disbanded; or else, if the rank and file of a regiment remained in one locality, they were soon separated from their officers, were stranded in a more or less hostile community, and had not themselves the education to write out their record. An attempt to form a national organization of those who had served with colored troops went to pieces, some fifteen years ago, on the question whether it should be confined to the officers or include private soldiers also, and it remains to be seen whether that projected last year in Boston will secure a more permanent existence. Meantime the materials for such a work have been steadily accumulating, and many misapprehensions, personal or local, have been cleared away. It is understood that an elaborate chapter on the origin and career of the colored troops has already been prepared for the series now in course of publication by the Century Company; and two independent histories by colored authors have appeared almost simultaneously to sum up the information already gained.

Both of these books show honest intentions and a certain amount of praiseworthy diligence. Both claim to be the result of much labor in archives and in personal intercourse; both are by authors who served with colored troops and who have had some literary experience; but both show a want of method and an inability to command their own materials, so that they leave the reader with a renewed interest in the subject, but with a very imperfect sense of clear comprehension. Each gives some facts and documents which the other omits. Of the two Mr. Williams's book is the more grandiloquent, while Mr. Wilson is grandiloquent once for all by yielding to the whim of calling the colored troops a "Phalanx"—a phrase corresponding to nothing said or done in the actual army, but so insisted upon by him that he speaks of the 54th Massachusetts Volunteers, for instance, as the "54th Phalanx Regiment," which is very confusing.

The want of clearness in both books is felt from the beginning, in the absence of any distinct and systematic account of the origin and first service of the pioneer colored regiments. Not that there is not much information given in regard to them, but it is so distributed in the different chapters of both books as to fail of all methodical impression on the mind. Mr. Wilson even says: "The date of the first organization of colored troops is a question of dispute, but it seems as if the question might be settled either by the records of the War Department, or the personal knowledge of those interested" (p. 123). But the facts are in reality well enough known, and nothing is needed to set them distinctly before the reader except a little method in the statement. Any apparent confusion results from the irregular action of the Government itself, which at first enlisted colored troops under some especial impulse or pressure, here and there, and immediately strove not to let its left hand know what its right hand was doing; which postdated the muster of the early regiments until the time when the regiment reached the minimum, even where they had been mustered in by companies; and which finally enhanced the general confusion by renumbering nearly all its colored regiments at haphazard, so that the earliest raised had often the latest numbers, and in four cases, at least, there were duplicate regiments with the same number—this happening with the 79th, 83d, 87th, and 88th. This was, however, later; but at the very beginning, although there were five infantry regiments of colored men organized during 1862, they were yet raised under such different conditions that all claims to priority must depend wholly on the ground on which such a claim is to rest. When we speak popularly of the priority of a regiment we may mean either (1) priority of actual enlistment, or (2) of *authorized* enlistment, or (3) priority in muster, or (4) in coming under fire, or (5) in sustaining actual loss of life. Now, if we adopt (1) the first standard thus given, the precedence belongs unquestionably to the 1st South Carolina, which began recruiting under Maj.-Gen. Hunter's orders (May 9, 1862), and one company of which was not, like the rest, disbanded under orders from Washington, but became the nucleus of the reorganization of the regiment under the same name (afterwards 33d U. S. C. T.), by authority given Brig.-Gen. Rufus Saxton (these orders being dated August 22, 1862), and commanded by Col. Higginson. But if we adopt (2) the second standard, the precedence belongs to the 1st Kansas colored (afterwards 79th U. S. C. T.), which was raised under authority given to Maj.-Gen. James H. Lane about August 1, 1862, had its recruiting officers appointed August 4 (see Wilson, p. 227), and had its first enlistment August 6; but was not mustered in (by companies) until much later, nor was its Colonel (Williams) mustered until May 2, 1863. If we accept (3) the date of muster as the basis of priority—as is the case with the rank of officers—the three regiments raised by Maj.-Gen. Butler at New Orleans should have precedence, being, indeed, enlisted after August 22, 1862—three months later than the (original) 1st South Carolina, and nearly a month later than the 1st Kansas Colored—but mustered in more promptly (September 27, October 12, November 24). These three regiments were the 1st, 2d, and 3d Louisiana Native Guard (afterwards 73d, 74th, and 75th U. S. C. T.), and commanded by Cols. Stafford, Daniels, and Nelson. But if (4) precedence under fire is in question, we come back to the 1st South Carolina, the pickets of which had a skirmish on St. Helena Island, S. C., under Capt. Trowbridge, October 26, 1862 (Official Army Records, xiv, 189). But, as no casualties occurred on this occasion, if we give precedence (5) to the regiment which first lost men in action, it belongs again to the 1st Kansas Colored, of which one officer (Lieut. Crew) and eight men were killed and nine men wounded at Island Mound, Mo., October 29, 1862 (Official Army Register of the Volunteer Force, viii, 256, 336), although this regiment, like the 1st South Carolina, had not yet been mustered in when thus under fire.

We are aware that Gen. B. F. Butler has recently made for the Louisiana Native Guard statements inconsistent with this, but we follow official authority. Gen. Butler's claim, made in the Boston *Herald*, August 6, 1887, that his colored troops were "out" fighting under Gen. Weitzel in "September or October, 1862," is unfortunately refuted by the correspondence between him and Weitzel (Official Army Records, xv. 158–171), from which it appears that Weitzel wrote (November 1, 1862) that the colored regiments had not yet arrived, and again (November 5) that he was not willing to command them. The first official reports of the Louisiana colored troops in action are dated April 11, 1863, when Col. Daniels reported to Gen. Sherman that a part of the Second Louisiana Native Guard had had a skirmish at (East) Pascagoula, and had behaved exceedingly well (Williams, p. 223). In this affair the regiment had three men killed and seven wounded (Official Army Register, viii, 249). It must be remembered by the historian of the war that these Louisiana regiments were at first enlisted under a proclamation calling only for "free colored citizens," and that Gen. Butler wrote to Secretary Stanton that "the darkest of them was about the complexion of the late Mr. [Daniel] Webster," and to Gen. Halleck that he had "kept clear of the vexed question of arming the slaves" (Official Army Records, xv, 555–6, 559). This is not said to diminish the great importance of the action of Gen. Butler in enlisting these regiments, but only to state it more definitely. It was very valuable as another entering wedge, but had an exceedingly limited scope as compared with the direct enlistment of slave regiments, as undertaken previously by Hunter, and subsequently carried out on so large a scale throughout the country.

The two works before us really supplement each other from the fortunate circumstance that each happens to fill gaps in the other. Mr. Williams's book is better arranged, although it leaves in this respect much to be desired; and although Mr. Wilson's has no index and his arrangement is confused, it is made so in part by the insertion of important documents not to be found in that of Mr. Williams. He has, for instance, a valuable narrative of the pioneer Northern regiment, the 1st Kansas, which has never yet had its fair share of prominence, partly because of the burning of the early records of the Kansas Adjutant-General, and partly through the more conspicuous service of the 1st South Carolina, and afterwards of the 54th and 55th Massachu-

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setts. He also has some valuable reports from Gen. Gillmore's artillery officers as to the service of colored troops in the siege of Charleston. On the other hand, Williams has a fuller account of the earlier South Carolina operations, of the extensive recruiting under Maj. Stearns, and (on the whole) of the service of colored troops with the Army of the Potomac. He also gives the text of the Confederate orders which threatened the first officers of colored troops with hanging, and Wilson (p. 527) gives an instance where this threat was executed. Both writers give very fully the contest of these troops for full pay. Both do adequate justice to the pioneer officers in the matter, except that Williams omits all mention of Gen. J. H. Lane, to whose influence the organization of the 1st Kansas was due, and he also subordinates Gen. Saxton quite too much to Gen. Hunter. The latter will stand in history in unquestionable precedence as to arming the blacks; but it is also unquestionable that he did it, as he did everything, in a thoroughly impetuous and haphazard way; that he was habitually under influence of staff officers who had no sympathy with his efforts, and often thwarted them; and that his whole project would have gone to pieces unless revived, as it was, by the firmer purpose of Saxton. Even then there was no severer blow to the enlargement of the colored troops than when Hunter, with easy changeableness, recalled them from the St. John's River, whither they had been sent for the express purpose of penetrating into the interior and recruiting on a large scale. Mr. Williams is in error, by the way, when he speaks of Gen. Saxton as having "relieved Gen. Hunter at Port Royal, S. C." (p. 100), inasmuch as Gen. Saxton was not in direct military command at Port Royal, but received permission to enlist troops in the somewhat anomalous position of Military Governor; an office which he held under several different Department Commanders, including Mitchell, Hunter, and Gillmore.

Both these historians give what may seem a rather disproportionate amount of space to the early days of recruiting, and to the service of the first regiments organized. This is, however, inevitable; for the first contest of the black soldiers was really for the right to exist, to be trusted, to be decently treated both by friends and foes. After colored regiments had ceased to be a novelty, their history was inevitably merged in that of the army corps or divisions to which they respectively belonged. The whole number of individual colored soldiers mustered into the service—including, doubtless, as in similar estimates of the army generally, some reënlistments—is given by both Williams and Wilson, from the Adjutant-General's returns, at 178,975. These are further analyzed by Williams (pp. 139-40) as including 99,337 organized by the general Government itself and 79,638 by separate States and Territories. Of these, 36,847 are reported by him as having been killed or as dying in the service (p. 329); and the number of separate engagements in which they took part is given as 449. Such a list necessarily includes many trivial skirmishes; but as the official index of battles in which the colored troops actually sustained casualties includes 249 separate occasions (Official Army Register, vol. viii, Appendix) it is probable that the above larger estimate—including also those skirmishes where no casualties took place—may not be very much out of the way. The record of the colored troops, if painted in rather too glowing colors by these historians of their own race, is nevertheless a solid and honorable one; they not merely did all that which was originally expected of them by many of their advocates—namely, to hold points already gained by white troops—but really a great deal more; they held their own, as a whole, without need of special allowance; and they worked under many disadvantages in the way of poor arms, disproportionate fatigue duty, and slowly yielding distrust. When we consider the many curious and almost inexplicable disappointments of the war—as, for instance, how much less aid than was expected the Union Army received from the officers trained in European wars—the actual service rendered by the colored troops needs only to be modestly stated in order to be fully recognized. And had that actual service been far less, the mere fact of their existence was an important element in the whole bearing of the strife on public sentiment. Each new volume of the invaluable 'Official Records of the War' reveals to us, by the letters and despatches of Confederate officials, the fact that the arming of the blacks produced precisely the impression desired upon the Southern mind, and was an essential element in the gradual discouragement and decay of the Confederacy. The predictions of Chase and Wilson at Washington, of Hunter, Saxton, Phelps, and Thomas in the field, were being vindicated all the while, had the North but known it, in the solicitude and anxiety produced behind the lines on the other side; while, at the North, the fact that the negroes had actually borne arms for the Union and on so large a scale, was perhaps the most important immediate factor in that great change of public opinion which ultimately placed the ballot in their hands.

LESSEPS'S RECOLLECTIONS.

Recollections of Forty Years. By Ferdinand de Lesseps. Translated by C. B. Pitman. 8vo. 2 vols. D. Appleton & Co. 1888.

M. DE LESSEPS is one of the notable old men of our era of old men. He is the junior of the Emperor William by eight years, and of Moltke and Bancroft by five, but he is the senior of Bismarck by nine years, of John Bright by six, and of Gladstone by four. He entered the consular service at the age of twenty, and was employed in that and in the diplomatic service for almost a quarter of a century. After his voluntary retirement from office, the great enterprise which he carried to a triumphant conclusion, and which cannot fail to secure his permanent fame, brought him into contact with the leading spirits of the age, with whom he treated on a footing of equality.

The genuine memoirs of such a man could not help possessing surpassing interest, and would be received with acclaim by the entire reading world, and also by the world which seldom if ever reads. But the book which he now gives forth is far from meeting the expectations which its title naturally arouses. Only a very small portion of it can by the most strained construction be included under the designation of "Recollections." It is difficult, indeed, to surmise what purpose its author had in view in offering it to the public. Much of it is devoted to the two gigantic schemes to which M. de Lesseps has given the last thirty years of his life, and may be regarded as a huge pamphlet designed to influence public opinion in favor of the Panama Canal. Whatever effectiveness it may possess in this capacity would probably have been enhanced by omitting several chapters which swell the bulk of the volumes, but make the impression of being dragged in without rhyme or reason.

Fully one-half of the entire work recounts the beginnings of the Suez Canal, but presents very little new material. It consists of extracts from a journal kept from 1854 to 1863, supplemented by letters, documents, and speeches. Its chief interest lies in recalling the marvellous energy, persistence, and force of character which M. de Lesseps displayed in overcoming the obstacles he encountered before the canal was even begun. It may be assumed that his object in rehearsing this history is, not to vaunt himself, but to reason by implication that inasmuch as he made the Suez Canal a perfect success in spite of all the drawbacks he had to contend with, he can do as much with the Panama Canal. The difficulties, however, differ radically in the two cases. His great trouble in the first was the narrow policy of British statesmen who, following the lead of Palmerston, opposed a dogged resistance. The only notable exception was Gladstone. Lord Palmerston's hostility was rendered more formidable by the professional opinion of Robert Stephenson, who was very positive that the project was not practicable. The result has demonstrated how easy it is for great men to commit great blunders; but this is not a new discovery, as equally great blunders were committed by the eminent experts who confidently predicted that no locomotive could drag a railway train, and that no steamship could cross the ocean.

In the case of the Panama Canal, M. de Lesseps has struck upon a rock which has wrecked many a magnificent project. An error in calculation seems a small matter in itself, but it has proved fatal in many instances, and bids fair to do so in this. If the Panama Canal turns out a failure, it will be mainly for lack of money. Perhaps the most instructive lesson to be drawn from the contrast between the two undertakings is this: When M. de Lesseps conceived the project of a canal at Suez he was forty-nine years old; he went to work cautiously, deliberating on every step he took; he had the more or less active support and sympathy of several powerful governments, and he fell upon a sanguine and optimistic period. On the other hand, when he embarked on his Panama project, he was seventy-four; he was naturally flushed with success, and animated by the same exaggerated confidence in his star that led the first Napoleon to his doom; he had to depend for material support upon a country and a time which had suffered severe drains and losses, and was neither able nor willing to furnish the unlimited funds without which he was helpless. If the final verdict should be that M. de Lesseps, like many other famous men, has outlived his usefulness, it will be well to remember, not only that no subsequent failure can dim the splendor of his one great achievement, but that even before he entered on that he had already, although a comparatively young man, a useful and honorable career behind him.

The first three chapters of the present work give some intimation of the interesting reading which his genuine autobiography would have offered. The first, of 119 pages, relates the circumstances under which he accepted a mission to the short-lived Roman republic in 1849, and how, in consequence of not receiving the support of his Government in the course he pursued, he retired permanently from the diplomatic service. His mission was a difficult one, and the impression one gains from his recital is that he was made a cat's-paw by the home authorities, and became a victim of their vacillating policy. The French Government was in a transition stage, and did not know its own mind, being torn by internal conflicts which culminated in the *Coup d'État*. M. de Lesseps, in a letter written November 30, 1859, ten

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years after, gives the following no doubt accurate account of his political status:

"My whole life has been spent in the service of my country, nor have I ever meddled in home politics. I have never once set my foot, even out of curiosity, in a public political meeting of any kind. During my thirty years' consecutive employment abroad I was only four times on leave in Paris, and I was not present at the revolutions of 1830 or 1848. Put out of active employment upon my own demand, in 1849, and receiving no pay or pension, I devoted myself entirely to my family, and succeeded in making good the inroads upon my small fortune caused by the expenses of my latest missions abroad" (vol. ii, p. 134).

From an American point of view this seems an odd statement to be made by a man who on many occasions demonstrated his patriotism; but in France the conditions here indicated are almost the only ones on which an honorable man could remain in the public service without forfeiting in some degree his self-respect. It is a sad commentary on French history of the past half century, but it is a true one.

Another interesting autobiographical fragment is the following, on page 129 of the first volume:

"At the age of twenty I was sent upon a mission, in the year 1825, under the orders of my uncle, J. B. de Lesseps, the sole survivor of the La Pérouse expedition, who was then Chargé d'affaires at Lisbon. Since then I have held different posts in the administration of foreign affairs at Tunis, in Algeria, in Egypt, in Holland, and in Spain. At the outbreak of the Revolution of 1848, M. de Lamartine summoned me from Barcelona to Paris, and sent me to Madrid as Minister Plenipotentiary. I had been eight years in Spain, during which time I had been upon terms of intimacy with the principal generals and public men, and though I had never mixed myself up in the political dissensions, I had established friendly relations with all the different party leaders. Lamartine said to me, 'We are at the beginning of a revolution here; we cannot tell if foreigners will be friendly to us. It is important for us that things should be quiet in Spain. You know the court, the representatives of the different political parties, and the population at large.'"

M. de Lesseps remained in Madrid only a year, and was then sent to Rome, after which, as already related, his diplomatic career came to a close. According to his own statement, his return from Rome was the origin of the Suez Canal, to studying which he gave up his time because he had nothing else to do. Mr. Senior, however, in his 'Conversations and Journals in Egypt and Malta,' relates that it was mainly by the advice of M. Mathieu de Lesseps, French Consul-General in Cairo, and father of M. Ferdinand de Lesseps, that the Sultan selected Mehemet Ali as Pasha of Egypt, and that when Ferdinand became Consul-General, Mehemet Ali reposed much confidence in him, and intrusted to him in a great measure the education of his favorite son, Said Pasha, Viceroy of Egypt from 1854 to 1863, under whom and whose successor the canal was undertaken and carried to completion. M. de Lesseps's own account is as follows:

"The successor of Abbas Pasha, the Viceroy of Egypt, was the youngest son of Mehemet Ali, whom I had known well as a child, and taught to ride. He was enormously fat, and I made him take exercise, much to the delight of his father. This lad, who was very intelligent, was made to learn fourteen lessons a day. Mehemet Ali said to me one day: 'As you are interested in my son, here are his notes.' I told him that I did not wish to see them, as I could not read even then very well, and all I wanted to see was the last column showing his weight for the past and the present week. If there was an increase, I should punish him, if there was a decrease, I should reward him."

This must have been between 1836 and 1838, while the consulate of the elder De Lesseps was thirty-three years earlier. It would thus seem as if fate had decreed in advance who should build the canal, for it is highly probable that but for the circumstances just detailed there would never have been a canal.

Among other passages which throw an amiable light on the straightforward character of M. de Lesseps, is one, a little too long to cite, in which he recounts how, in 1848, he recovered from the mob in possession of the Tuileries the jewels and other valuables belonging to the Infanta of Spain. M. de Lamartine, to whom he applied for the property in the first instance, said that the people in the Tuileries had erected barricades and would allow no one to enter the palace. He had no power over them, but referred De Lesseps to the Mayor of Paris. The Mayor was also afraid to tackle the mob, but gave him a letter of introduction to their leader, without knowing whether they had one. De Lesseps took this letter to the gate, and said that he was the Ambassador of the French Republic in Spain, and wanted to recover the property taken from the Infanta. The result of taking the bull by the horns in this courageous manner was that, after some parleying, all of the goods were surrendered to their lawful owner.

There are other instances of boldness and dash which only increase the regret of the reader that M. de Lesseps did not omit his incongruous chapters on "Steam," "Abyssinia," "The Origin and Duties of Consuls," and the like, and give us, instead, more copious extracts from the journals which he seems to have kept, and which it is to be hoped will some day see the light.

RECENT FICTION.

Sabine's Deception. By Princess Olga Cantacuzene-Altieri. Translated by E. Nute. Harper & Bros.

The Last Von Reckenburg. By Louise von François, translated by J. M. Percival. Boston: Cupples & Hurd.

Narka the Nihilist. By Kathleen O'Meara. Harper & Bros.

Hithersea Mere. By Lady Augusta Noel. Macmillan & Co.

The Right Honorable. By Justin McCarthy and Mrs. Campbell-Praed. D. Appleton & Co.

Free Joe. By Joel Chandler Harris. Charles Scribner's Sons.

'SABINE'S DECEPTION' is a good story of French provincial life, wretchedly translated. Its atmosphere is pure and clear, and the people have a moral excellence which would repay the study of Parisian journalists and playwrights. Sabine's whole life had been so open to the sunlight that the little deception practised to insure her sister's happiness seemed to her a deed of darkness, and doubtless caused her more anguish than did the relinquishment of her lover, so faithful in letter and faithless in spirit. Sabine is drawn carefully from nature. The author perceives, as it almost seems that only French novelists can perceive, that truth has many sides. Sabine is positive, prejudiced, rigid, but she is also courageous, loyal, and full of passionate tenderness for those dependent on her. No sort of perfection is ascribed to Sabine, but a natural proportion is observed between her defects and her good qualities. Of course, the sacrifice which marks the victory of her strength over her weakness, is made for people who can never remotely appreciate its fineness. In fiction such a sacrifice is rewarded by the reader's sympathy. The Sabine of romance gets enthusiastic admiration; the Sabine of reality goes on till the end, managing the farm, studying the causes of potato rot, and spoken of behind her back as a hard, cross-grained old maid, who has no soul above a sixpence, and never had.

Women novelists are too apt to imagine an ideal beauty in instances of self-sacrifice that are wild or foolish and lack any sense of personal dignity. The author of 'Sabine's Deception' does not confound fantastical nonsense with real nobility, nor does the half-French, half-German author of the 'Last Von Reckenburg.' The noble Fräulein Eberhardine is not unlike Sabine, and is forced by the same natural characteristics to a similar act of renunciation. She is bound, by what in fairy tales is described as the mysterious laws of her being, to defend the weak and unworthy who depend upon her, no matter how great the cost to herself. Then the obligation is increased by a sense of what is due to her own rank when protection is demanded by a plebeian, one whom circumstances have made her companion and, with certain reservations, her friend. The novel in which Fräulein Hardine displays the nobility of her nature and of her order is thoroughly romantic. The scene is laid in the early years of the century in a German village where the Von Reckenburgs subsisted chiefly on the consciousness of their long descent and on the deference accorded it. Their feeling that a Von Reckenburg is neither degraded by poverty nor exalted by riches, that personal dishonor is as impossible to them as personal dishonesty, is so genuine and delightful that a fiery radical could scarcely withhold respectful acquiescence. The village never dreams of questioning the validity of the poverty-stricken Von Reckenburgs' claim to superiority. When Dörl, the common sinner, grovels at the patrician Hardine's feet and is lifted, comforted, and shielded from the worst consequence of her sin, there is an almost comical recognition of the immeasurable social distance between the two. The beauty of the story is that the reader accepts the situation as naturally as Dörl and the rest of the villagers, and the credit of this effect should be given to the author's unpretentious, sincere literary manner. The interest in Hardine's sorrows and Dörl's sins is strong enough to survive the artistic blunder of telling the end before the beginning. The translator has done his work well, and has resisted the temptation to sacrifice his author to prevailing fashion in style or to personal idiosyncrasy.

The opening of 'Narka the Nihilist' promises an exciting display of heroics. Narka is a Jewess dependent on a noble Russian family; her father and brother have suffered a shameful death from Russian tyranny, and her personal beauty is of the superb, heroic type. All these preliminary statements prepare the reader to assist at midnight conspiracies, to hear the whiz of bombs, and to wade with Narka through tyrants' blood to victory or death. Expectation of horrors is, however, disappointed. Narka aids her lover, Prince Basil Zorokoff, implicated in a plot against the Czar, to escape across the frontier, and herself suffers a short imprisonment in Cronstadt. But she escapes to Paris, where, being inveigled to one Nihilist meeting, the dirt and disreputableness of the conspirators disgust her and terminate her Nihilistic career. The author has herself no fixed ideas about Narka, and her uncertainty about Prince Basil is equally certain. Sometimes he appears to be splendidly firm and loyal, and sometimes he is a vacillating cringer to authority and caste. He is a miserable creature by contrast with his sister, the Baron-

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ness de Beaucrillon. She is an unimpeachable Russian aristocrat, an exquisite creature, all grace and delicacy and charm, with a high and holy belief in the knout as the instrument appointed by God for keeping people in their proper place. There is no evidence that the author has ever personally observed Russian princes and princesses, or that she has thought out the behavior of sane people in situations of vital import. Her plan is as undetermined as are her characters. She is not hampered by any necessity for arranging events which march in logical succession to a catastrophe, but alternates storm and calm mechanically, and introduces capriciously occurrences which have nothing to do with what is supposed to be her original motive. The summing up of the whole matter is not a dénouement, but an end which is just as delightful for a novel about a Yankee girl as for one about a Russian Jewess. Narka, having "tasted something of the inebriation that comes to those who drink the bitter cup with courage," appears in "Norma" at *La Scala*. The King of X——, a most excitable monarch, is present. He "rushes on the stage, and conducts the beautiful artist to the royal box, where the Queen embraces her, and, drawing a costly diamond ring from her own finger, places it on Narka's amidst cries of *Evviva la Regina! Evviva la Narka!*"

'Hithersea Mere' is another novel written on the happy-go-lucky principle. The beginning foreshadows a tale of decorous sorrow verging on solemnity, and we so attune our mind. The theologian and poet, Jasper Somerville, is dead. The world mourns its loss; his widow is plunged in woe, and his daughter, Rhona, knows that no matter for whom the amaranths may bloom in future, for her they bloom not. The first gleam of light comes with the suggestion that a biography of the honored dead be written. Rhona eagerly accepts the proposition, and drives her reluctant mother to the work. Together they proceed to an uncle's house in Essex, close by Hithersea Mere and several other natural features equally entitled to the distinction of supplying a name for the novel. Round this house centre the people who make the story, and there would centre the movement if there were any. These people are quite remarkable. There are four or five men who love but once and love for ever; there are several maidens who spontaneously bestow their affections unsought, and one who dies rather than recall or transfer hers. This modern Elaine is the last person to be suspected of intensity. Her name is Hilary. She is the granddaughter of a bishop. She practically lives in a donkey-cart in the society of ferrets, which it is her delight to turn loose on the county rats. When in very high spirits, she takes the ferrets home and sets them on to bite her grandfather's stockinged legs. Her apparently light nature is steadied by her love for a blind man who won't have it, and coldly permits her to die rather than yield. While all this is going on, Rhona is nagging her mother to despair about the biography, and, at the same time, making her running with Adrian Mowbray, the lord of Hithersea Mere and territory lying adjacent. He, like the blind man, has loved once and for ever. He is a power in politics, and has written for reviews articles not to be mentioned in the hearing of Christian ears. His services are enlisted for the biography. The divine's letters break down his scepticism, and the divine's daughter takes the place of the lost first love. This outline can convey no idea of the agony in which these rare souls are perpetually writhing—an agony which they lay aside as a garment when duty calls them to county dinners, garden-parties, and Sunday-school feasts. The scenes and people have been common property of English novelists for two generations, and the author's talent is most conspicuous in the original conceit of the biography, and in her erratic principle of selection.

'The Right Honorable' is what it professes to be, a novel of English politics and society. No attempt is made to philosophize London society, with its extremes of refinement and vulgarity, its forms and ceremonies arbitrarily enforced and as arbitrarily scattered to the winds by the few who have the privilege of making and breaking; but a fairly good panoramic view is presented, and the showmen never linger long enough on one scene to weary the audience. Excepting that a change of form of government at the end of the reign is foreshadowed, the political crisis imagined has no serious significance. The sketches of British politicians and their methods are clever, and some scenes in the House of Commons are described with vivacity and notable literary effectiveness. The plot is conventional, but is the construction of people who know their trade, who have the end in view from the start, and never lose sight of it or distract the reader by a wild-goose chase.

The first scene is on a home-bound Australian steamer, where the principal characters, Sandham Morse and Kooràli Middlemist, meet for an hour and part. Ten years afterwards they come together in London. Morse is the Right Honorable and happily married to Lady Betty, a frivolous, bright, good woman, with a great regard for the court, to which her radical husband is antagonistic. Kooràli is Mrs. Crichton Kenway, with a husband at once a scamp and a cad, and two children. It is directly foreseen that Morse and Kooràli will love each other, and as instantaneous is the conclusion that even if in reality any harm and scandal should come of it, in a novel written by respectable British authors for the respectable British public nothing very shocking will be permitted. Therefore the interest in the dénouement is not too intense to exclude enjoyment of all that leads to it. Therefore, too, one cannot enter into Morse's emotional difficulty about "ordering his stout heart to bear it" when his wife, Lady Betty, has run away from him with her father, and Kooràli, after much agitated discussion, has decided to run away both from him and her intolerable husband with her children. It is all so much a foregone conclusion that Morse's agonized reminiscence of Horace is decidedly foolish. It is a symptom of laziness when experienced novelists resort in a strait to the *deus ex machina* of the distraught playwright, the virtuous, all-helpful, not to say irreclaimably meddlesome friend. Such a one appears here in the person of Lord Arden, a quiet, well-bred gentleman, whom the authors, meaning to exalt, have really maligned.

The literary workmanship is so smooth that though from knowledge of their separate work one may ascribe certain passages to Mr. McCarthy and others to Mrs. Praed, the two hands are not easily distinguishable. The intellectual level is never low. The prevailing tone is lightly satirical, but the whole history of humanity is not reduced to a series of light ironical jests. The most flippant and silly have moods that resemble seriousness, and, through all the clatter of ready tongues and clash of conflicting interests, there is an echo, a murmur, of the great movement of a great world.

Mr. Harris's stories bound together under the title 'Free Joe' depict the life and characters with which he has already made us familiar. The Georgian negro, bond and free, the poor white, and the mountaineer are given enduring life by his pen. It may be heresy to suggest it, but one feels that his portraits of the Southern aristocrat, as he was before the war, are no less truthful. The rich young slave-owners with rather provincial tongue, views, and clothes, who rejoiced to sit by the hour in the corner grocery with their heels in the air, have a startling semblance of reality. The war undoubtedly deprived them of traditionally magnificent surroundings, but it can hardly be responsible for a total disappearance of the haughty mien tempered by infinite condescension, the unvarying elegance of diction, the chivalrous virtue, with which fancy loves to invest the old-time despot. In all his stories Mr. Harris prefers to describe the relation between master and slave as one of loving protection and grateful devotion, rather than one of brutal terrorism and craven fear. The master is always a hero to his valet, and the valet's love for the master passes that of a brother. Fortunately for those who like a pleasant tale, the author stands apart from the crusade to divorce the true and the beautiful.

TWO ENGLISH TOWNS.

Oxford. By Charles W. Boase. [Historic Towns. Edited by Edward A. Freeman and the Rev. William Hunt.] Longmans. 1887. 8vo, pp. viii, 230.

Exeter. By Edward A. Freeman, D.C.L., LL.D. [Historic Towns.] Longmans. 1887. 8vo, pp. xiii, 255.

MR. BOASE gives as the argument of his book the following quotation from Mr. J. R. Green:

"The University of Oxford is so far from being older than the City, that Oxford had already seen five centuries of borough life before a student appeared within its streets. The University found it a busy, prosperous borough, and reduced it to a cluster of lodging-houses. It found it among the first of English municipalities, and it so utterly crushed its freedom that the recovery of some of the commonest rights of self-government has only been brought about by recent legislation. The story of the struggle which ended in this usurpation is one of the most interesting in our municipal annals, and it is one which has left its mark not on the town only, but on the very constitution and character of the conquering University" (p. v).

Mr. Boase describes in detail this long struggle between "town and gown," showing us how, in consequence of a riot in which the townsmen killed about forty scholars, Edward III. in 1355 deprived the city of important judicial and administrative powers, and conferred them upon the University (p. 90); how from that time the latter grew steadily in power (p. 91), and how, at Wolsey's request, Henry VIII. in 1523 granted a charter which "virtually placed the greater part of the city at the mercy" of the Chancellor and Scholars (p. 103).

After this, the author has so very little to say concerning the civic constitution of Oxford that the uninformed reader will, we fear, infer that the city as a municipal entity ceased to exist. But this was not the case. In chapter ii. Mr. Boase ably describes the early organization of the municipality, which differed very much from that of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. He alludes to the latter on page 182 when he says: "The townsmen were, in fact, uneasy under the government of a narrow corporation." Mr. Boase nowhere describes this "narrow corporation"; nor does he give us any account of the later courts, officers, and other machinery of Oxford town government. Turner's 'Selections from the Records of the City,' though relating only to the sixteenth century, furnishes sufficient data

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to fill up this *lacuna*. Even the important Reform of 1835 is disposed of in a few words (p. 208); we are not told in what it consisted—what was superseded by the new civic constitution. Some of the more minute details concerning the inner life of the University might well have been omitted to make room for a few pages concerning later municipal history.

In justice to the author it must be said that the projectors of this series have very shortsightedly chosen to relegate internal municipal history to a subsidiary place in each volume. But Mr. Boase has shown a somewhat greater neglect of this subject than the other contributors to the series—a neglect which even the domination of the University does not fully justify. We must not, however, dwell too long upon a minor blemish in a book which, taken as a whole, is a most meritorious piece of work. The author displays all the qualities of an accurate, painstaking scholar, with a comprehensive knowledge of his authorities and the power of using them judiciously. He gives us an excellent account of the development of the University and of the participation of Oxford in the national life of England. We highly commend the book to all who are in any way interested in that

"Sweet city with her dreaming spires."

"The present volume," says Dr. Freeman in the preface to his 'Exeter,' "I wish it distinctly to be understood, does not represent any independent research into the Exeter archives. Of those archives, both municipal and ecclesiastical, I know enough to be able to say that they are of very high importance; and it is to be hoped that they may some day be given to the world in the series put forth by the Master of the Rolls. But to study them as they must be studied in manuscript would call for the offering of no small part of a life, and such an offering it is clear that I cannot make." As the printed materials for the study of the history of Exeter are extremely meagre and, in great part, unreliable, no one—not even so distinguished an historian as Mr. Freeman—can write a satisfactory sketch of its annals without consulting the manuscripts in the archives of the town. Is it because the author is inexperienced in the manipulation of original records that he considers "no small part of a life" necessary to explore those of Exeter with any degree of success? As the municipal muniments of this city are remarkably complete, extending back to the time of Edward I., and are admirably arranged and catalogued, we do not hesitate to affirm that a student versed in the mysteries of mediæval paleography and accustomed to investigate original sources, could make very valuable additions to the sum of our knowledge concerning Exeter by working only a few weeks in its archives. That Mr. Freeman refrained from doing this is the more to be deplored because his example is likely to influence forthcoming contributions to the series of which the volume before us forms a part.

This shortcoming is most apparent in the author's account of the municipal development of the city, which is very deficient, especially those portions relating to the Middle Ages. In his account of the momentous transformation of the town government from a democracy to an oligarchical Common Council (pp. 141-153), he plainly stands on shaky ground. Many of his data, whether derived from Izacke or Hoker, are to be accepted with distrust. He does not clearly inform us even in what century the oligarchical element began to prevail, and he is plainly at sea with regard to the early dual character of the Common Council — "the twelve" and "the twenty-four." He himself admits here and there that he needs "further light" (pp. 147, 148, 165). This he would doubtless have found had he scrutinized the dorse of the early Court Rolls in the civic archives of Exeter. Still, it would be unjust not to add that his account of the growth of this "select body," however unsatisfactory and incomplete, is interesting, and that he deserves much credit for confronting an important problem which most local historians of England pass over in silence.

The following few sentences contain some serious errors:

"In the reigns of John and his son, Henry the Third, three changes took place at Exeter which gave an abiding shape to the civic and ecclesiastical state of the city. The municipal constitution of the city, its parochial divisions, the constitution of the cathedral church, were all now remodelled after the types common to other cities and other churches. . . . From the year 1206, or earlier, the *Præpositus* or Reeve ceases to be the head man of the city. A succession now begins which has gone on to our own day, that of the Mayors of Exeter. . . . The Reeve or Provost had been a royal officer; the Mayor was the chosen head of the citizens; . . . the King or other lord now deals with an organized body capable of acting as an artificial person. A little later the lord's dues have changed into a fee-farm rent, and the appearance of the Mayor most likely marks the time of this change also. This great landmark in the history of the city seems not to be fixed by any surviving charter. . . . Exeter has now a chosen chief magistrate, and her citizens are now addressed in various corporate styles. . . . The work of making is now done. The city stands forth fully finished, in all its points, municipal and military, episcopal, monastic, and parochial" (pp. 57-59, 72).

The reeves of English towns, during the reign of John, frequently became elective without assuming the title of mayor. The grant of the mayoralty did not create a corporation, as Mr. Freeman and old jurists assert; it was only one of several steps in the development of the corporate conception. The presence of a mayor had nothing to do with the possession of the fee-farm; the bestowal of the latter, in many cases, preceded the advent of the former by several decades. The municipal constitution of Exeter was far from complete at the close of this period (A. D. 1225). We will call attention to only a few of the many formations added to the civic polity in later times. Here is one which we will describe in Mr. Freeman's own words:

"A charter of this king (Edward II.) establishes the judicial powers of the elective magistrates within the city and its suburbs. The pleas of the Crown were reserved to the officers of the Crown, but the lesser jurisdiction, civil and criminal, pleas of land and tenements, trespasses and contracts, were entrusted to the Mayor and bailiffs. As the city was not yet a distinct county, and as the Earls were dangerous neighbors, this judicial independence was a most timely privilege" (p. 86).

Now, "judicial independence" is regarded by the best authorities as the corner-stone of the English municipal constitution, as its most characteristic feature. Again, Parliamentary representation was not yet a recognized institution of boroughs in 1225. The erection of the city into a separate county was another important step in advance. "In his [Henry VIII.'s] day the city received the highest privilege that can be given to an English city or borough. He gave two charters to Exeter, by the second of which, in 1537, the city was severed from the body of the county of Devon, and became a county of itself, with all the rights of a county, under its own Sheriff" (pp. 98, 99). And yet Mr. Freeman says that already in 1225 "the city stands forth fully finished." The absurdity of his position becomes still more apparent when we consider that he himself takes pains to describe a complete revolution of the town government from a democracy to an oligarchy, which, according to his own account, could not have begun before the fourteenth century. The gravity of such errors is augmented by the fact that he has striven "to make this volume in some sort introductory to the other volumes of this series" (p. v).

In defining the classes of English towns, in pp. 1-4, the author ignores two important modes of classification—both more organic, more exhaustive, and more useful than those which he mentions—namely, the division into royal and baronial (or manorial) boroughs, and the grouping of towns according to their affiliation with certain typical municipalities, whose laws and customs most of the other communities borrowed. (See the *Antiquary*, vol. xi.) Mr. Freeman says that Kingston-on-Hull "stands almost alone as a great and abiding haven called into being at the bidding of a single far-seeing king" (p. 3). This notion concerning the origin of Hull was exploded as far back as 1827, by Frost in his 'Notices relative to . . . Hull.' The statement, on p. 155, that "the Recorder in short is a lawyer; the Chamberlain is bound to be a local antiquary," is more epigrammatic than accurate. The Municipal Reform Act was passed in 1835, not in 1836, as stated on pp. 228 and 230.

The redeeming feature of the book consists in its many apt comparisons between the municipal development of England and that of the Continent. Here are some examples:

"Again, the English town always remained a mere municipality; it never became an independent commonwealth, like an old Greek or Italian city, not even like a free city of Germany, Italy, or Provence, an independent commonwealth, less the rights of the Emperor" (p. 60).

"The history of Exeter is less than the history of Nürnberg because the history of England is greater that the history of Germany" (p. 61).

"The home of a city in its municipal character, its place for assembly and debate and administration of justice, is the Guildhall. In idea it is the first of the three chief buildings of a city, alongside of the church of the Bishop and the castle of the King, or other lord. . . . But it comes of the special character of English history that nowhere in England does the municipal element stand forth before all eyes in the shape of a building on a level with those which represent the military and ecclesiastical element. Nowhere does the municipal house proclaim itself as the true head of the city, nowhere does it announce its presence from afar, like the cities of Italy and Flanders, by towers rivalling the proudest of those that shoot up from the minster or the fortress. In England the palace of the King at Westminster has become the *palazzo pubblico* of the whole nation" (p. 179).

Biographies of Words and the Home of the Aryas. By F. Max Müller. Longmans, Green & Co. 1888.

Like all Professor Müller's publications, this book addresses itself both to scholars and to the wider public. He eminently possesses the art of making philological research generally attractive, and popular discourses interesting to those who know; but of the dozen essays composing the collection, only the two longest, "The Home of the Aryas" and "The Earliest Aryan Civilization"—together more than two-fifths of the volume—possess a general interest. Though strictly philological, they have an historical character, and they complete each other. In them the author contends, both with the weapons of comparative philology and discursive dialectics, for the correctness of the view that the original common home of the Aryan, or Indo-Germanic, nations was somewhere in the interior of Asia, and probably in

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the vicinity of the upper course of the Oxus, whence, at a remote period of antiquity, the Indic and Iranian peoples migrated southeastward, toward Hindostan and Persia, and the Hellenic, Italic, Celtic, Teutonic, and Slavic northwestward, spreading over Europe. A quarter of a century ago this view was generally held by scholars, but latterly it has been repeatedly assailed in learned monographs. At one time Professor Müller himself, on the strength of a few linguistic facts, was inclined to follow Benfey in fixing the Aryan home on the borders of Asia and Europe, near the shores of the Black and Caspian Seas; but he has returned to his earlier conviction, after a study of the bolder antagonistic opinions lately propounded by philological dissenters.

Of these Lazarus Geiger places the original home of the Aryan race in Germany, Cuno in the centre of that country, Poesche in its southwestern corner, Tomaschek in eastern Europe, and Penka in Scandinavia. One of the main facts that have induced philologists to declare against Asia as the cradle of the race is the absence of common Aryan names for animals which must have been known to the early inhabitants of that continent. Such animals are the lion, tiger, elephant, and camel, the names of which in the Indo-Iranian languages are different from those more or less common to the Aryan idioms of Europe. The name of the dog, on the other hand, is common to both main divisions of the Aryan family, being *kyōn* in Greek, *can-is* in Latin, *hun-d* in German, *kú* in Irish, *szu* in Lithuanian, *svan* in Sanskrit, *span* in Zend. (Let those of our readers who may be startled by such apparently bold identifications reflect that in the Latin subdivision itself *can-is* has been modified into French *chien*, which a Slav would phonetically write *šjɛ; calx*, lime, into *chaux*, which in English is to be spelled *shō*; and *caulis*, cabbage, into *chou*, pronounced *shu*). This is a negative argument against the Asian home, but the positive is stronger. The northwestern and southeastern Aryas have a common name for the bear, for instance—identical in derivation, though not in sound; consequently "they must, unless it can be proved that one language borrowed the word from another, have known the bear before they separated, and have lived in a country where that animal was well known." Their common name for the birch tree—*bhūrga* in Sanskrit, *bereza* in Russian, *Birke* in German—points in the same direction.

But these arguments are far from decisive; in fact, our author treats them as crumbling at the first touch. That the Aryas sprang from a very southern climate he and his school never pretended; it has long been known that they had common names for winter (Sansk. *himā*, Lat. *hiems*, Slavic *zima*), ice (Iran. *isi*), and snow (Slav. *snieg*, Lat. *nix*, Zend. *snizh*, to snow). The region which is generally fixed upon by the upholders of the Asiatic origin of the Aryas has long winters, ice, and snow, and birch-trees, and neither lions nor tigers, as appears from the following "classical passage" of the Central-Asiatic traveller, Ujfalvy: "Les vallées qui avoisinent le Pamir . . . satisfont à toutes les données de la paléontologie linguistique. Il y a là un pays froid, de la glace et de la neige en hiver; l'été est court. Les plantes alimentaires et les animaux domestiques sont bien ceux que signale le vocabulaire aryaque. On trouve le pin, le bouleau et le chêne. Les grands fauves n'y vivent pas. . . ." The bear may have lived there, or may have been brought there, and carried about, as he is in many a country of which he is not a native. And as to the absence of common Aryan names for the largest animals, "suppose that the elephant and the camel had really been known and utilized as beasts of burden by the united Aryas, when living in Asia, would it not have been most natural that, when transplanted to more northern regions, their children, who had never seen a camel or elephant, should have lost the names of them?" And if "Drs. Penka and O. Schrader have shown that the picture which linguistic palæontology has drawn of Aryan life previous to the separation coincides with the picture which archæological palæontology constructs from the neolithic remains discovered in Scandinavia" and the lacustrian dwellings of central Europe, "how would this prove that the Aryas were autochthonous in Scandinavia, or in Switzerland, or along the Po?"

In this way, and by a great deal of arguing, defensive and aggressive, Professor Müller makes out a very plausible case for the Central Asian theory, but one far from fully convincing; for, as he himself says, "the evidence with which we have to deal is so pliant that it is possible to make out a more or less plausible case" for many regions, Asiatic or European. He is not over-positive himself, and generally treats his opponents with studied courteousness, though he almost loses patience when the question of greater primitiveness is raised between his favorite Sanskrit and any language of the western Aryan branch. He is convinced that "even the blackest Hindus represent an earlier stage of Aryan speech and thought than the fairest Scandinavians," though, on the other hand, asserting and reasserting that when he speaks of Hindus, Greeks, Romans, Germans, Celts, or Slavs, he means "neither blood nor bones, nor hair nor skulls," but simply those who speak the respective language, whether inherited or adopted from a conquering or a conquered people. As to the history of the Aryan development—the date of the Aryan separation, the way it took place, or the rise of Sanskrit literature—he confesses almost complete ignorance, and his expositions of the relations of languages and dialects to each other, of linguistic growth and decay (not here originally presented), are marked by characteristic clearness and moderation; but in the comparative list of words, collected from the dictionaries of the seven principal languages of Aryan descent, from which a collective picture of "The Earliest Aryan Civilization" is to be abstracted, he more than once transcends the line which separates the certain and probable from the possible—as, for instance, when he connects Pers. *Yakh* (which is probably borrowed from a Turanian idiom; *cf.* Magy. *jég*, Ostyak *yenk*, ice) with Teut. *Eis*, *ice*, Zend. *isi*; Sansk. *gyâ*, bowstring, with Gr. βιός; or Sansk. *sâlya*, shaft, with Gr. κῆλον and κήρ.

Shakespeare in Fact and in Criticism. By Appleton Morgan, A.M., LL.B. New York: William E. Benjamin. 1888.

THE author of this volume begins one of his essays with a compliment to Richard Grant White. "The lamented Richard Grant White," he says, "was that rarest of all creations—a Shaksperian commentator with no nonsense about him." It is apparently the ambition of Mr. Morgan to follow in Mr. White's footsteps, and especially to have "no nonsense about him." Such a man necessarily begins by asserting that other persons in his trade have a great deal of nonsense about them; and consequently we find in these pages little more than a loud and heated denunciation of the æsthetic and scholarly commentators on Shakspere, and particularly of Mr. Furnivall. There has been, certainly, enough of "too curious considering" about the development of Shakspere's mind and art, and the legitimacy of intrinsic evidence has been strained to the extreme in obtaining more from the plays and sonnets than meets the ear, with reference to Shakspere's life and character; but Mr. White, on his side, also pushed to the extreme the opposite view, and by his negations was forced to end with turning Shakspere into a sordid person. Mr. White, however, had something to say in the occasional explosions of temper in which he indulged. He did not simply fume and call men fools and crazy-bodies, and think the argument done when he had only expressed his feelings violently; he showed some cause with which one might agree or not, independently of the critic's expletives. In the present volume, however, we find no unusual learning, no ingenuity or originality in dealing with the well-known materials, no critical power or penetration of mind which would entitle the writer to speak with authority or palliate his indulgence in violent language respecting the scholarly and cultivated, and sometimes eminent, men whom he attacks. If he had allowed himself towards them a small portion of the charity which he shows for the Baconians, with whom he agrees as little, the volume would have avoided its worst features. In the matter of his essays there is nothing which requires consideration.

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